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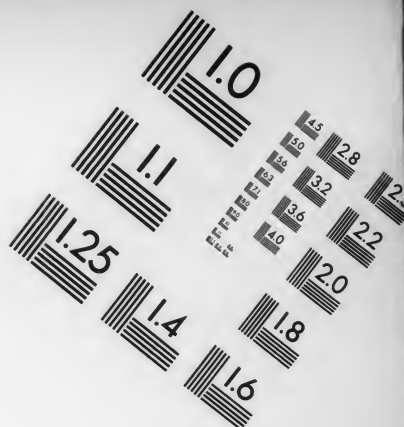
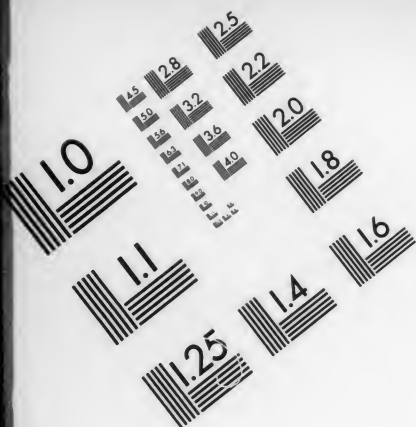
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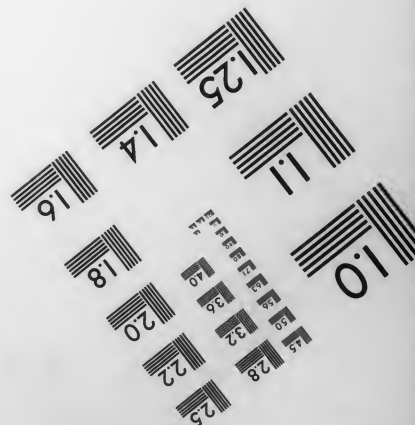
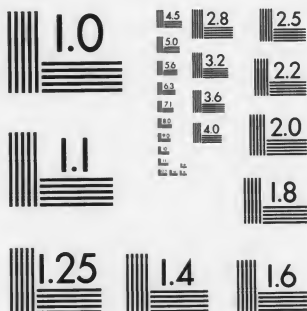
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THE RELATIVE POSITION

OF

ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK
THEATRE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN PICKARD, PH. D.

BALTIMORE

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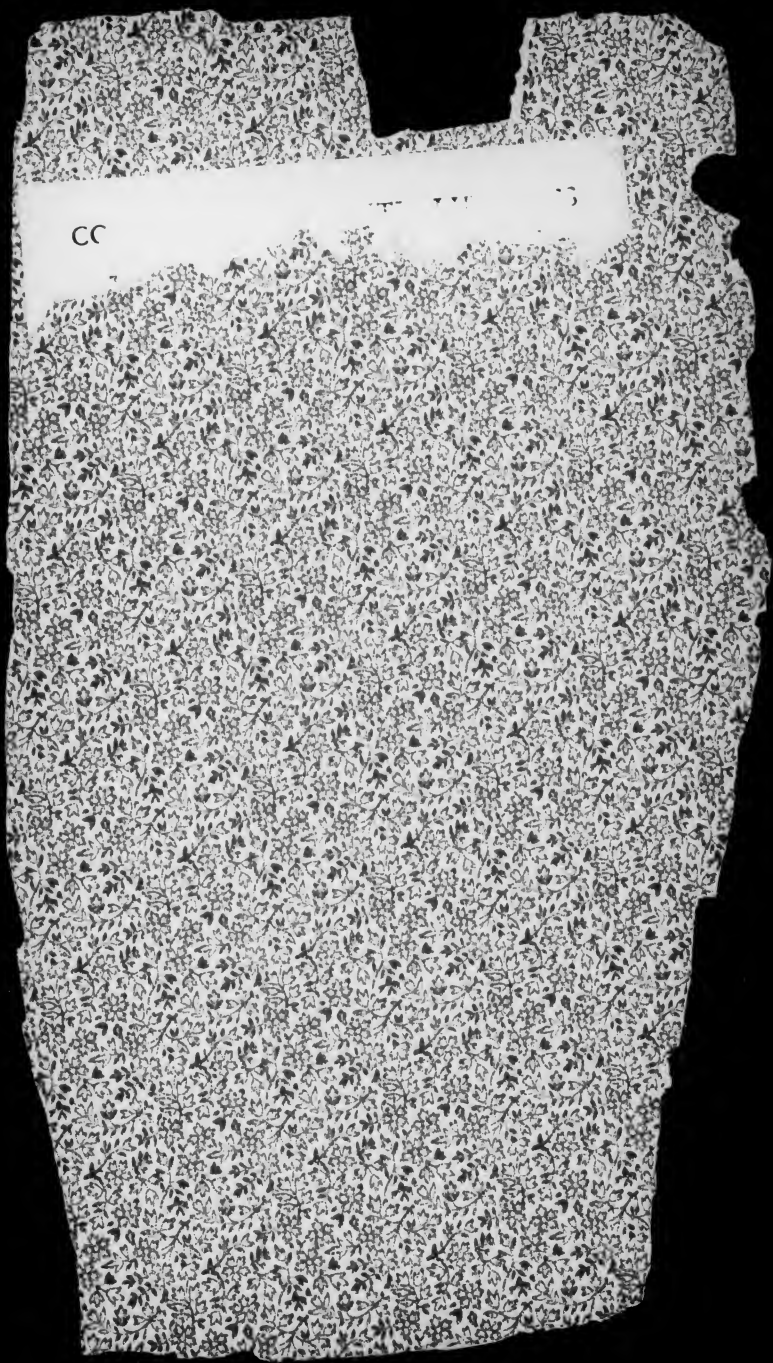
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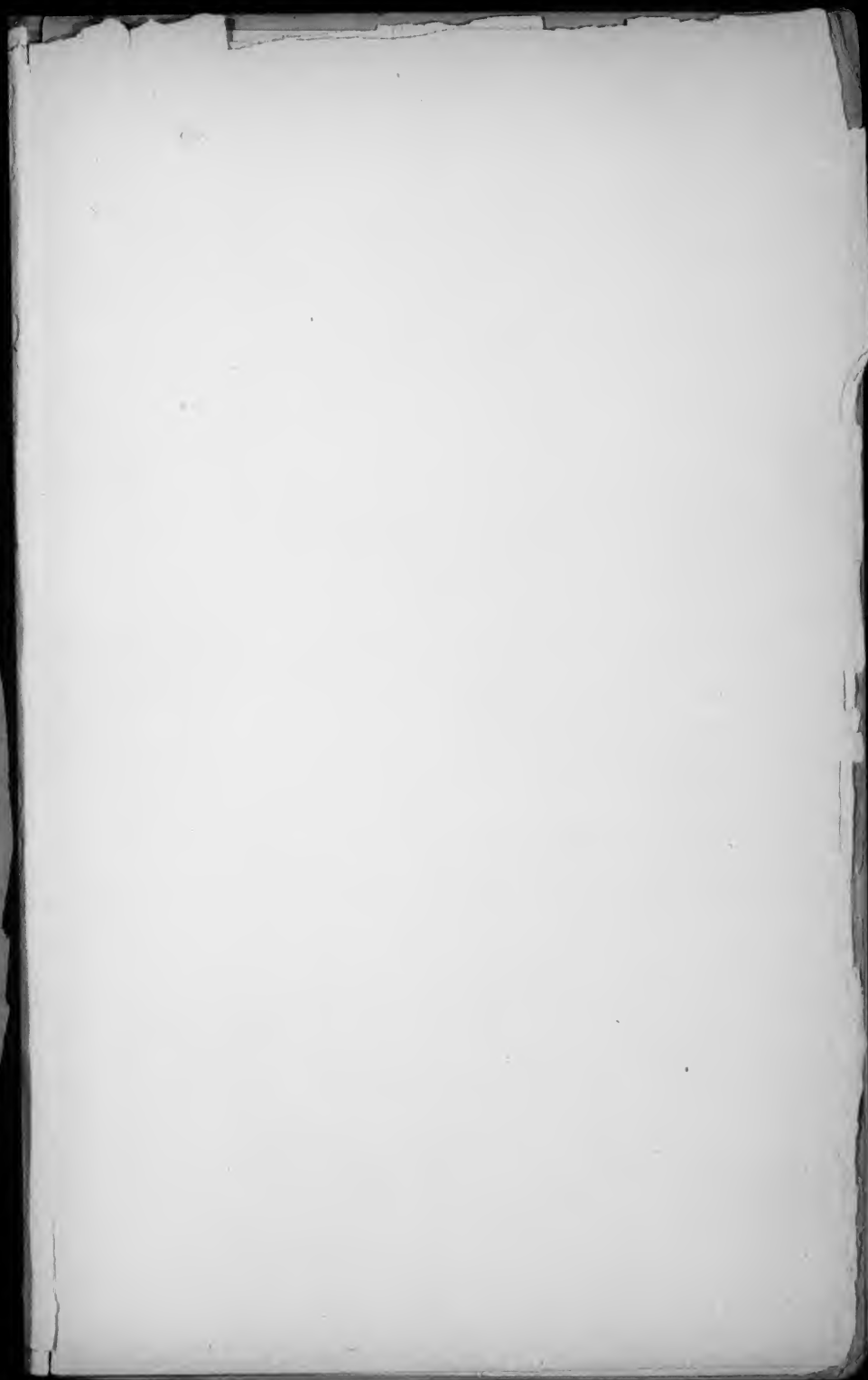
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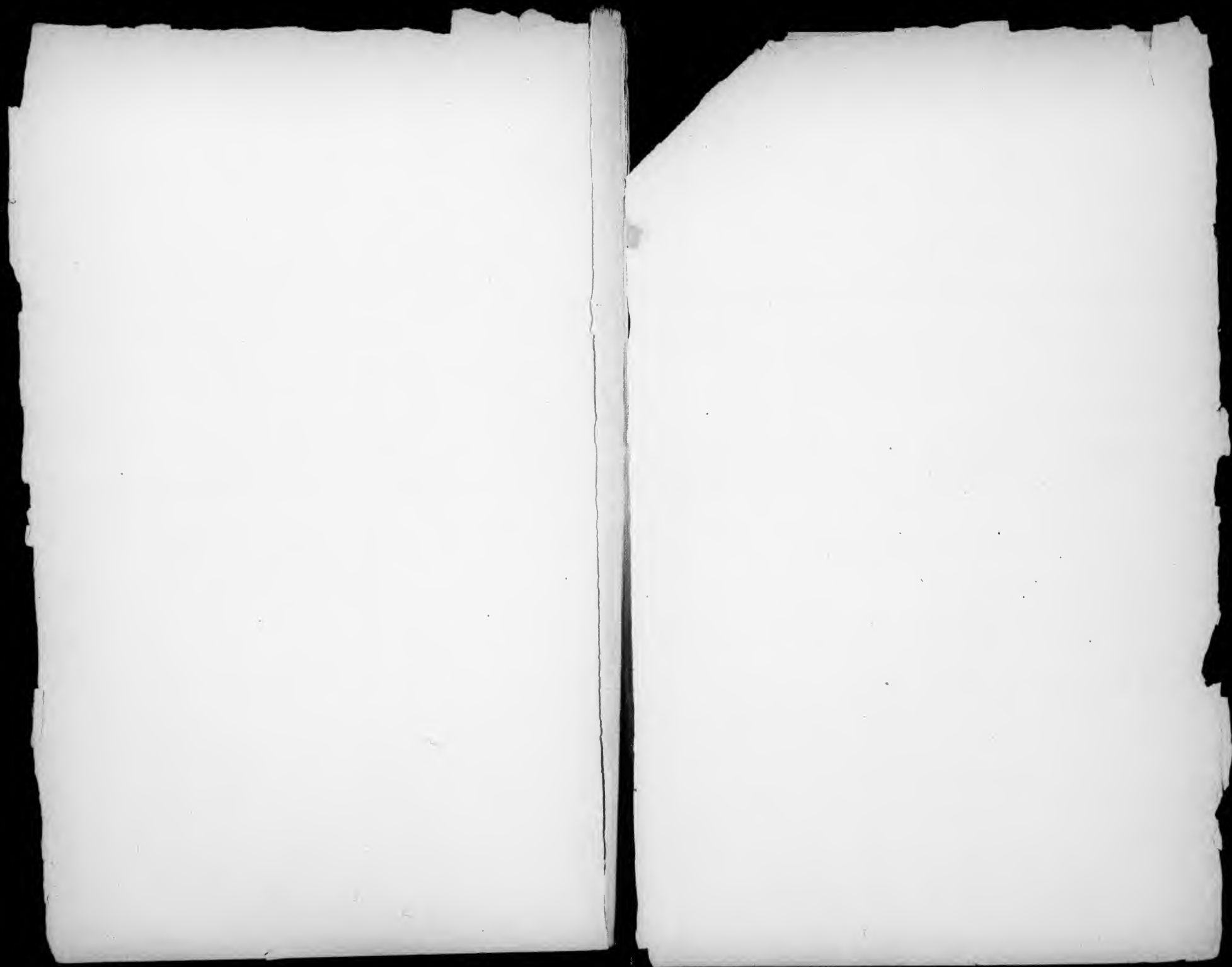
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THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY.¹

PART I.

CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT THEATRES.

THE GREEK THEATRE.

It has been assumed, and by many writers on the subject it is assumed to-day, that the great Athenian dramatists, Vitruvius, all the grammarians, lexicographers and scholiasts had before their eyes the same Greek theatre, which remained practically unchanged from the time of Aischylos to the days when Nero and Hadrian were spectators in the theatre of Dionysos. The 'Vitruvian stage' has been accepted as *the* Greek stage for the entire period of the Greek drama, and the description of the Greek theatre by the same authority has been used as a Procrustes bed to which all plans of theatre ruins must in some way be made to conform.

Within the last decade, however, the revolt against the writers of post-classic times as authorities on the theatre of the V century has been rapidly spreading. The excavations in the theatres of Athens, Epidauros, Sikyon, Oropos, Megalopolis, and Eretria have yielded results of the highest importance. With the knowledge gained from these excavations, with the carefully drawn plans of these theatres before us, the older works dealing with the construction of the Greek theatre, and plans such as are found in Wieseler's 'Theatergebäude' must be considered as antiquated. Therefore, before entering upon the discussion of the extant dramas, we will consider the Greek theatre as described in classic

¹ The substance of this paper has already appeared under the title 'Der Standort der Schauspieler und des Chors im griechischen Theater des fünften Jahrhunderts. (Inaugural-Dissertation.) Mit dem Accessit gekrönte Preisschrift. München, 1892.' Contrary to the usage of the Journal, the paper is reproduced here as a necessary introduction to the new matter which will be embraced in the subsequent article.—B. L. G.

literature and as it actually exists in the more recent and more important excavations.¹

*Theatre of Dionysos at Athens.*²

Oldest of the existing ruins are the remains of the ancient orchestra, *KNO* (vid. Fig. 1). All stage-buildings of which traces still exist were built over a portion of this circle. A glance at the plan shows that the present cavea has no connection with it. At *O* the Acropolis rock was cut away in order to make room for this circle; so the level of this entire orchestra could not have been lower than the rock at *O* is to-day. At *N* and *K* are still *in situ* portions of the circular supporting wall, whose character can best be studied at *N*. It is built of roughly shaped pieces of Acropolis limestone, which is the oldest building material in Athens, and was not used later than the V century. This is plainly a supporting wall; the outside was intended to be seen, but the inside is rough, just as the stone was broken from the quarry. The bottom of this wall at *N* is 5 or 6 ft. lower than *O*. Therefore the level of the earth within the orchestra circle at *KN* was originally at least 5 or 6 ft. above the level of the ground outside the circle at these points. This fact alone is fatal to the theory of Wilamowitz (Hermes, XXI, S. 597 ff.) that the audience to the earlier plays of Aeschylus stood or sat in a complete circle about this orchestra. Furthermore, at the time when this orchestra was constructed no stage-building³ could have existed. For, if present, its front must have been nearly tangent to the circle on the south. In that event the level of the orchestra must needs have been continued to the entire front of the stage-building, the outer surface of the wall *KN* would not have been carefully dressed, and, in fact, this wall would not have been necessary at all. It has also been urged that a 'stage' 10-12 ft. high was

¹Some of the more important discussions are: Höpken, *De theatro Attico saeculi a. Chr. quinti*. A. Müller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, and *Philol. Anz.* XV 525 ff. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*. Dörpfeld: in A. Müller's *Bühnenalterthümer*, S. 415 ff.; on Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, in *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1890, S. 461 ff.; on Hartzmann, *Quaestiones Scaenicae*, *ibid.*, S. 1658 ff.; on Oehmichen, *Bühnenwesen*, *ibid.*, S. 1532 ff. Kawerau, in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, S. 1730 ff.

²The facts concerning the Athens theatre are from the lectures of Dörpfeld in the theatre itself during the winter of 1890-91.

³As a matter of convenience, 'stage,' 'stage-buildings,' etc., will be used, though the writer is convinced that no stage existed in the V century.

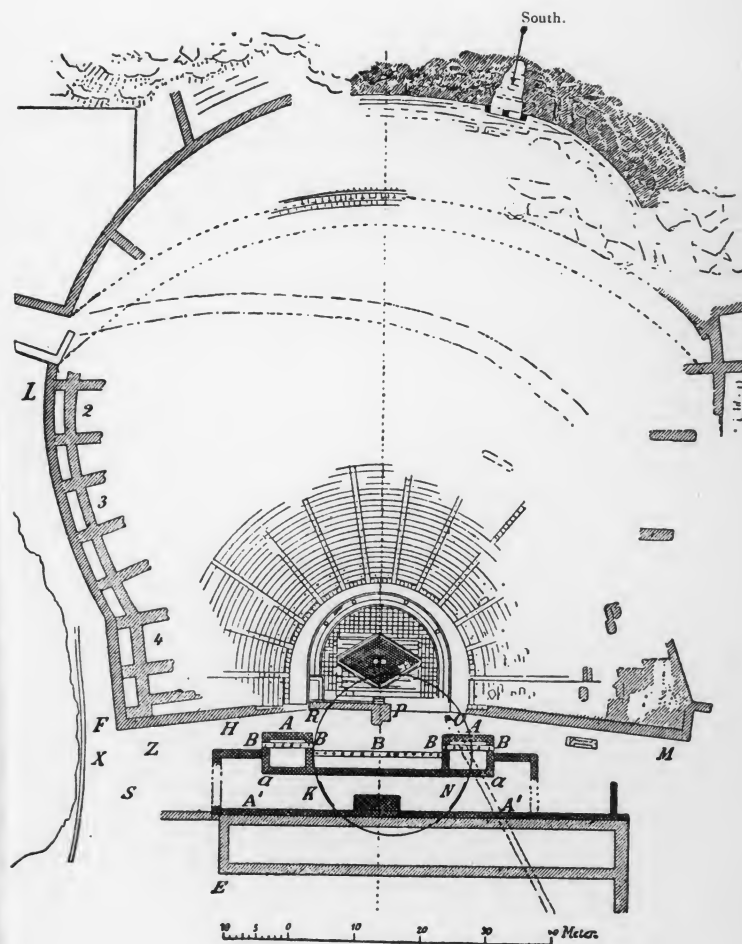


FIG. 1.

necessary in order to give room underneath for the disappearance of an actor, as in the Prometheus. Since there was a difference of 6 ft. between the level of the orchestra and the level of the earth under the supposed 'stage,' a height of 10-12 ft. for this would cause the actor to drop 16-18 ft. Suidas (v. *Πρατίνος* and *Αίσχύλος*) informs us that the wooden seats having broken down under the weight of the spectators, a stone *θέατρον* was built by the Athenians in Ol. 70. In this connection may be mentioned some walls not yet published on any plan and not on Fig. 1 because of the lack of accurate measurements. These walls, at *XZ*, are not parallel with *FH*, and from their direction could hardly have had anything to do with the orchestra belonging with the extant cavea. Whether these walls belonged with the *θέατρον* erected after the Pratinas-Choirilos-Aischylos breakdown can perhaps not be fully decided. They at least take us back a step nearer to that oldest stone cavea.

The walls of the oldest stage-buildings are represented on Fig. 1 by the shaded lines *AAA'A'* and are of the same age and method of construction as are the supporting walls of the cavea, e. g. *FL* 2, 3, 4. Wherever these walls were not exposed to view, as in the inner supporting walls of the cavea at 2, 3, 4 and in the lower foundations of the stage-buildings, they are constructed of blocks of breccia of the same size, shape and method of working throughout. If exposed to view, as in the outer cavea wall *LF* and in the upper courses of *AA'*, Peiraieus limestone was used. Where any portion of the superstructure remains the Peiraieus limestone is covered by Hymettos marble. The entire similarity of construction proves that these oldest foundations of stage-buildings and the cavea belong to the same period of building. But no ruin is known in Athens constructed, in the manner just described, of breccia, Peiraieus limestone and Hymettos marble which dates prior to the IV century B. C. At *H*, on a stone in the supporting wall of the cavea, are found Ω and σ , the former of the shape in use after the time of Eukleides. At the corner *F* is to be seen the inscription published in CIA. I 499. The stone is in its original position, and was formerly covered by two courses of stone, which were between it and the corner *F*. The inscription, then, could not have been added after the stone was placed in its present location, but was placed there when the stone was in some previous position. It is variously dated from the middle of the V century (Julius) to 408 B. C. (Kirchhoff). The stone was

surely not removed from the earlier structure and built into this cavea wall immediately after this inscription was added. These two inscriptions, then, render the construction of the cavea walls, and hence of these oldest stage-buildings, before the end of the V century impossible. For all students of the theatre of Dionysos agree that these walls represent one and but one period of construction. Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, p. 123) contends that these inscriptions date the construction only as late as the end of the V century. Dörpfeld (*Wochenschrift*, 12. Apr. 1890, S. 423) well replies: "Dieser Einwand kann kaum ernstlich gemeint sein: denn wer die Geschichte Athens kennt wird niemals glauben, dass die Athener am Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts ein grosses steinernes Theater errichtet haben." The extant cavea and the oldest stage-buildings were constructed, then, in the IV century. In this century we know of one and but one great period of theatre-building; that mentioned in connection with the orator Lykourgos (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 86). Such important construction could hardly have been completed before his time and have passed unnoted by classic authors. In that event, too, nothing would have remained to be done by Lykourgos of sufficient importance to merit the attention which his work on the theatre has received. Hereafter, therefore, we shall refer to the cavea and the foundations *AAA'A'* under the name of Lykourgos.

The stylobate *BB* is later than the time of Lykourgos. When it was built the fronts of the paraskenia *AA* were cut back so that they ended beneath this stylobate. The original foundations of the paraskenia are still *in situ*. The upper course of *BB* is of Hymettos marble, but this marble rests directly on a rough, poorly constructed foundation largely made up of breccia. In IV-century construction in Athens this never occurs. A course of Peiraieus limestone was in this period always placed between the breccia and the marble. Upon *BB* stood full columns whose diameter, .50 m., can still be measured. These, with the epistyle, would, at the time they were constructed, be about 12 ft. high. So this proskenion would in height correspond very nearly with the one in Epidauros. The upper surface of *BB* is exactly on a level with the pavement of the present orchestra, and the front of the slabs which compose this stylobate is worked out to receive the edges of slabs of a similar pavement. Therefore the surface of *BB* was on a level with the orchestra circle existing at the time of its construction. In Epidauros, Oropos and Eretria the pros-

kenion walls were constructed of half-columns, the spaces between which, as is proven at Eretria and Oropos, were filled by *πίνακες*. In the centre of each of these walls was a door leading out on the level of the orchestra. At Athens were full columns, and in the centre were three doors, only a single column separating each of the side doors from the one in the centre. This last, exactly in the middle of the stylobate, was the widest (1.60 m.). The other two are wider than the usual intercolumnar interval. The markings made on the stylobate by door-posts and hinges admit of no doubt as to the existence of the doors, and these could, of course, have had no meaning unless the intervals between the other columns had been closed in some way.

RP represents what still remains of the 'stage of Phaidros,' the erection of which in the III century A. D. is dated by the inscription (CIA. III 239). Its height is that customary in the later theatre, and a glance at the plan shows that its depth, back to the foundations of the stage-buildings, was also quite 'Roman.'

The reliefs which now adorn the front of this stage have been cut down to fit their present position. Their artistic execution is similar to that of the torsos of some large satyrs which are now found scattered among the ruins of the theatre, along with the fragments of the massive architrave which they helped to support. On this architrave can still be read (CIA. III 158) [*Διονύσιον* 'ΕΛ]εὐ-θεριεὶ καὶ [*Νέρωνι* ΚΛ]αυδίου Καίσαρι Σε[*βαστῶ* Γερμανικῶ] κ. τ. λ. The unchanneled columns which, with the torsos, supported this architrave are much too large ever to have stood on *BB*. But immediately behind the Lykourgan wall *aa* stands a much later strengthening wall (not given on the plan). The wall *aa* thus strengthened alone, of the walls found in the ruins of the stage-buildings, could have borne the weight of the Neronian columns and their epistyle. This wall was therefore the front of Nero's stage-building. The stage itself extended over the stylobate *BB*, well forward towards the position of the front of the stage of Phaidros. For under Nero the wide Roman stage would be constructed.

The history of the theatre of Dionysos during the 800 years from Aischylos to Phaidros, so far as it can now be read in the ruins themselves, is briefly as follows:

1. Dating to the V century or earlier is the ancient orchestra *ONK*. In connection with this orchestra permanent stage-buildings never existed.

2. Such buildings were first completed in connection with a new theatron by Lykourgos, in the latter half of the IV century. The form of this 'scenae frons,' the wall *aa* with the paraskenia *AA*, was naturally that of the temporary wooden scenae frons which existed before this time, i. e. the form was what the requirements of the plays demanded. This, then, is the best representation we possess of the scenae frons before which the plays of the great dramatists of the V century were acted.

3. The stone proskenion on *BB* was added at some period considerably later than Lykourgos, but before the time of Nero. That such stone 'proskenia' did not exist in the V and IV centuries is a strong indication that the plays of the great dramatists were not exhibited before one fixed form of a background, but that proscenia were erected in accordance with the requirements of the various plays.

4. The 'Roman' stage was built under Nero.

5. This was altered in the time of Phaidros, about 290 A. D.

The Thymele.

It becomes necessary to examine the evidence to see if the structure which we have thus far called the 'proskenion' was ever used as a 'stage.' Since the extant plays emphatically demand that there shall be no impediment to the free intermingling of actors and chorus, and since, if the actors were on a stage 12 ft. high while the chorus were on the orchestra-level, such free communication would be impossible, Hermann, Wieseler, Müller and many others have assumed that a supplementary stage was erected for the chorus, to which the name *θυμέλη* has been assigned. A. Müller (B.-A., S. 129 ff.) is the latest who has undertaken to prove the existence of such a platform. He first cites (S. 129, An. 1) Pollux, IV 123: καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὐσα εἴτε βωμός. But here it is simply said that the thymele was in the orchestra and was a kind of platform for a speaker (*βῆμα*), or an altar (*βωμός*). Neither of these statements indicates that it was a large platform, or that the chorus ever took position on it. The epigram of Simmias Thebanus (Müller, S. 129)—

τόν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα παῖδα Σοφίλου,
τόν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον
πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθελὼς
βλαιοδὸς κ. τ. λ.

only testifies that the thymele and the skene were two important portions of the theatre. The inscription referring to the actress Basilla (CIG. 6750), ἐνὶ σκηναίῳ λαβοῦσαν παντοίης ἀρετῆς . . . εἴτα χοροῖσι πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλαις, shows in addition that the chorus was particularly associated with the thymele, as would naturally be the case, since this was the altar in the orchestra (Pollux, IV 123). The remark of Hesych. v. γλυκερῶ Σιδωνίῳ. δράμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ τῆς θυμέλης¹ ἄρχεται οὕτως, adds nothing. Here seems to be said only that the play opens with a choral ode. Isidor Orig. XVIII 47 "thymelici erant musici scaenici, qui in organis et lyris et citharis praecinebant, et dicti thymelici, quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitum, quod thymele vocabatur" is valuable as proving that the musicians had their place on some portion of this altar. The scholion to Aristides, III, p. 536, Dind. ὅτε εἰσῆει ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρῃ ἢ ἐστὶ θυμέλη, only states that the thymele was in the orchestra. So in Vitruvius, V 7, 2 "actores in scaena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram praestant actiones itaque ex eo scaenici et thymelici graece separatim nominantur" the writer simply understands that the chorus performed its part in the orchestra and received a name from the thymele, the most important object in this portion of the theatre. The scholiast to Aristoph. Eq. 149: ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ τὸ ἀνάβαινε is speaking of an actor, and the application of his words will appear when this passage in the Equites is considered. The story of Alkibiades and Eupolis in schol. Aristid. III 444 adds nothing. The only passages in which Müller finds that thymele really means platform are Gloss. Philox., ed. Vulc., p. 176, 18: pulpitum, θυμέλη, σανίδωμα, ἐπίπεδον; Charisius, I, p. 552, 18, Keil: pulpitus, θυμέλη. These definitions should be compared with Pollux, IV 123. They do not at all indicate that the thymele was a large platform for the chorus. The citations from Thomas Magister, p. 179, ed. Ritschl, and Strabo, p. 468, Cas. (Müller, S. 130, An. 1), as Müller rightly remarks, only show that the musicians had their place on the thymele. In the famous Hyporchema of Pratinas in Athen. XIV, p. 617 C: τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὄδε; τί τὰδε τὰ χορεύματα; τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδῃ πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν; the poet is complaining of the insolence of the flute-players in taking the lead, instead of being content to accompany the chorus. His τίς ὕβρις refers to the insolence of the musicians, and the πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν is so called because it resounded to their music. The words of Ulpian to

¹ Wecklein emends: τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης.

Dem. Mid., p. 502, explain that some one led the dishonored (τοὺς ἀτίμους) away from the altar (ἐκ τῆς θυμέλης); but they contain no hint of a platform. The grammarian Phrynichos, p. 163, Lob. (Müller, S. 130, An. 5), not only does not declare in favor of a special stage for the chorus, but by using λογεῖον and ὀρχήστρα shows that he is speaking of the later Roman theatre. For λογεῖον, as applied to the theatre, is never used till Roman times (Dörpfeld).

In fact, no one of the advocates of this special platform has as yet brought from the writings of the ancients one word of positive testimony for its existence, while the argument against its existence is overwhelming.¹ It is hardly possible that, among the many notices which have come down to us from antiquity concerning the Greek theatre, there should exist no mention of this special platform for the chorus, if it ever existed. Vitruvius (V 6, 7) takes pains to explain what he considers to be the chief points of difference between the Greek and the Roman theatres. Had such a platform ever existed, he could have mentioned nothing else that would have emphasized this difference so much. He is, however, silent on this point. Again, if such a θυμέλη were ever present, we should be compelled to believe that the Greeks first built their stage much too high; then, when they discovered their mistake, in order to bring the chorus within reach of the actors, they built each year another platform nearly as high. This requires us to believe that the Greeks were exceedingly impractical.

The entire area of the orchestra was required for the dithyrambic choruses of the City Dionysia. This platform would have interfered with the motions of these cyclic choruses, and consequently must have been erected after the dithyrambic contests, and removed at the conclusion of the performance of the dramas. This renders the existence of such a θυμέλη improbable. For the yearly erection of such a staging special appliances would undoubtedly be present—sockets, holes for the supporting posts, mortices in the walls of the 'stage' front for the reception of beams, some indication of the inclined plane or steps leading from the parodoi to the platform. Not a trace of these things has ever been found.

In all but three of the plays of Aristophanes, actors and chorus go off together at the end. In the Wasps the poet tells us that

¹ Cf. Petersen in Wiener Studien, VII, S. 175 ff., and Haigh, Attic Theatre, p. 156 f.

all depart dancing. They undoubtedly do the same in the Peace, the Birds, and the Ecclesiazusae. This action would be impossible in descending from a platform to the parodoi.

In several plays persons enter riding upon chariots drawn by horses. As will appear later, these could not have appeared on the so-called stage. Equally impossible is it that they could have ascended to this special platform. The din made by horses and chariots moving over such a hollow wooden platform is in itself sufficient to make such a theory improbable.

The fronts of the 'stages' at Athens, Epidauros, Oropos, and Eretria were ornamented with handsome columns; in the middle of each 'stage'-front was a door leading out on the level of the orchestra. This special platform for the chorus would have cut these columns and doors in half, and they would then have presented a very unpleasing appearance to the eyes of the spectators. To say that the theatre was used for other than dramatic purposes is no sufficient reply to this argument. The theatre, particularly the 'stage,' was principally for theatrical purposes, and it requires most special proof to show that the architecture found therein was intended for some other use.

The size and shape of this imaginary platform are not the same in any two of the many authors who have advocated its existence. In Epidauros the 'stage' was 4 m. high. Since the sole object of the platform now under consideration was to bring the choreutae and actors near each other, it is fair to assume for Epidauros at least 2.50 m. as its height. In Epidauros the *θρόνοι* of the front row of seats rest on a basis whose upper surface is exactly on a level with the orchestra (cf. plan in *Πρακτικά*, 1883, πιν. Α' 2). The height of the seat of these *θρόνοι* from the basis is .43 m.—practically the same as that of the similar chairs at Athens and Oropos. The average man as he sits has the level of his eyes not more than .80 m. above the seat. From the level of the orchestra to the level of the eyes of the spectators in the front row of seats at Epidauros, the distance would not be greater than 1.25 m. Since the thymele was to be large enough for all the evolutions of twenty-four choreutae (in comedy), it is not too much to say that it should extend from the front of the 'stage' to the centre of the orchestra. Fig. 2 represents the appearance of the 'stage' and of such a thymele to the spectator in the middle seat of the front row in this theatre. *HA* is the line of sight from the spectator's eye to the top of the stage; *HEB* the corresponding

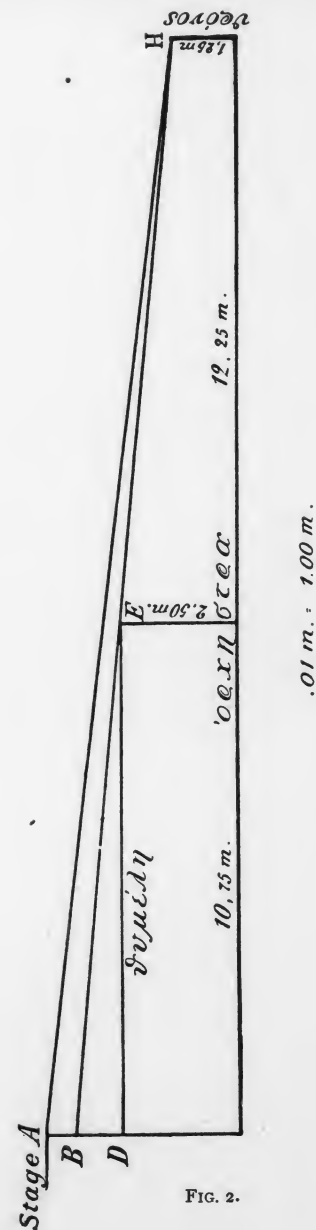


FIG. 2.

line over the front edge of the thymele. If the choreutae were near *E* on this platform their bodies would effectually conceal the stage from the spectator at *H*. If they stood in the rear near *D*, only the upper portions of their own bodies would be visible. To avoid this last difficulty the slope of the thymele must be nearly as great as that of *BE*—rather a sharp incline, it must be confessed.

But we must consider not only the man who sits at *H*, but also the spectators at the extreme ends of this row of seats. Here the spectator was not, as at *H*, separated from this thymele by a distance of 12.25 meters, but the edge of the platform must have been very near to him. If, as was natural, the thymele covered the entire width of the orchestra, its edge was only 2.50 m. from the *θρόνοι*. Every foot taken from the width to withdraw the edge farther away removed one foot from each side of the platform. A simple mathematical calculation shows that this process of cutting would soon render the platform too small for use. In any event, the spectators at the ends would be much nearer to the thymele than those in the centre of the front row. Consequently the edge of the platform must have been so much the lower that they might see over it. The slope towards the ends of the rows of seats was greater, then, than that towards *H*, and the edges of this platform opposite the end seats could have been very little higher than the eyes of the spectators sitting there, i. e. very little more than 1.25 m. high. But if this double slope towards the two ends existed, the persons seated in these portions of the front row could have seen only the half of the platform next to them; the opposite half would have been cut off from their eyes by the higher middle portion of the thymele (along *DE*, Fig. 2). The shape of this platform must have been, then, like the half of a gigantic turtle-shell, with the diameter placed against the 'stage' and the incline extending in all directions to the edges. This is a self-evident absurdity. The only way to overcome all these difficulties is to reduce the height of the platform to 1.25 m., the level of the eyes of front row of spectators. But in that case the stage would be over 8 ft. above the level of this platform, and communication between actors and chorus would be practically as difficult as if no such thymele existed.

The argument for Epidauros applies fully at Athens, except that the base on which the Athenian thronoi stand is .30 m. above the level of the orchestra. In Oropos a new difficulty is found (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1886, πιν. 3). The chairs of honor are in their

original position, and are actually placed within the orchestra. It is incredible that any platform could ever have been erected immediately before the eyes of the occupants of these thronoi.

Of great weight in this connection are the discoveries in the theatre of Eretria (cf. Preprints of the Am. Journal of Arch., Vol. VII, No. 3). An inscription found in the theatre (v. Jour., p. 23) proves that the theatre was at least as old as the IV century. The oldest portion is probably of a yet earlier date. Exactly in the centre of the orchestra (cf. plan in Jour.) a flight of steps leads down into an underground passage which extends to a position behind the 'stage'-front, where similar steps lead again to the surface. The work of the walls of this tunnel is excellent; it is older than the stone 'stage'-front—which corresponds to the similar structures at Epidauros, Oropos, and Athens; it is .89 m. wide and 2 m. high (C. L. Brownson in Jour., p. 43), and it is entirely unconnected with any drain. Its only possible purpose was to allow an actor to pass from behind the 'stage'-front and appear in the middle of the orchestra. 'Charon's steps' (Pollux, IV 127) appear clearly to us moderns for the first time in Eretria. In Sikyon (cf. Am. Jour. of Arch., Vol. V, Fig. 9) a similar passage has been found, but this tunnel served also as a drain. Such underground passages exist also in Magnesia and Tralles. So the Eretrian tunnel by no means stands as an isolated example. These passages would have been entirely unnecessary had a special platform for the chorus existed. One would surely not expect the ghost of Dareios, for example, to pass through this passage to the orchestra and then climb to such a thymele.

In view of all these objections, a special platform such as has been imagined for the chorus seems an utter impossibility.

The So-called Greek Stage.

The 'stages' of Epidauros, Athens, and Eretria were about 4 m. high. The corresponding structure in the smaller theatre of Oropos was only 2.51 m. high. The appearance of the 'stage'-front in each of the four theatres was much the same. The depth of this 'stage' was in Epidauros 3 m., in Athens 2.25 m. (Dörpfeld), in Eretria 2.14 m., in Oropos 1.93 m. This depth does not, however, represent the space at hand for the actors during the presentation of a play. In front of the wall of the stage-building must have been placed the *διστευία*. A. Müller (B.-A., S. 140 ff.) explains what this was in classic times. The scenes in the dramas

in which this platform was used will be discussed later. Suffice it here to say that the distegia must have been broad enough to contain several persons and to permit freedom of action. The real scenery must then have been placed on a framework in front of the wall of the stage-building (Müller, B.-A., S. 142), far enough away to allow room for the distegia. Two feet in depth would be altogether too narrow accommodations for the numbers who at times appeared on this platform. Yet, subtracting two feet from the depth of the 'stage,' and there would remain for actual use in the presentation of a play a shelf, at Athens and Eretria less than five feet deep, at Oropos four feet deep, and even in Epidauros only about eight feet deep. These are hard facts of actual measurement which cannot be explained away. If this structure was a 'stage' in one theatre it was a 'stage' in all, and the same distegia was necessary in each.

The scene of the drama was often a hillside, part way up the slope of which was the mouth of a cavern to which, in 'Philoktetes,' a path leads up. Taf. III im Theatergebäude von J. H. Strack shows the impossibility of representing such a scene on such a 'stage' as we are discussing. Under the various plays will be noted the many other instances where it would be simply impossible to accommodate, on any such platform, the accessories actually mentioned in the text. Yet we are asked to believe that, in addition to the scenery, the altars and other accessories, the in many instances numerous train of actors and mutes, even the chorus also appeared, moved and danced on this shelf 8, 5, 4 ft. deep! It has been soberly maintained also that chariots and horses were driven out upon it!

It has been customary to assume that the necessary connection between the 'stage' and orchestra was formed by the steps mentioned by Pollux, IV 127, and Athenaios de Mach., p. 29, Wesch. A flight of steps 12 ft. high reaches the ground some 15 ft. from the foot of a perpendicular let fall from its top. If these steps extended directly into the orchestra, they would render a considerable space useless for the evolutions of the chorus. If they were placed close against the 'stage'-front, they would partially conceal the columns which ornamented these 'stage'-fronts, and would therefore be a very ugly addition. Up and down such lofty stairs it would be impossible for actors and chorus to pass in the many scenes which require quick and easy communication between the entire body of the chorus and the actors. In fact,

the movements of the tragic actors, incumbered as they were by their robes and impeded by the lofty cothurnos, over such steps would have been attended by much of difficulty and even of danger. On the well-preserved epistyle of the 'stage'-front at Oropos there exists not a scratch or a mark to show that steps ever rested against this 'stage'; nor has there been found in any Greek theatre any indication that they ever existed.

Vitruvius, V 6, is describing the Roman theatre; Pollux, IV 124, 126, seems also to have this later theatre in mind. Fettered, however, by these passages and by the information obtained from such Roman theatres as those of Orange and Aspendos, writers have been unwilling to believe that the doors in the 'stage'-fronts of Epidauros, Athens, Oropos, and Eretria could have been meant for the actors. The theory has obtained that there must have been at least three doors opening on the 'stage.' Yet the ruins of no Greek theatre are so well preserved as to show whether or not doors ever opened from the wall of the stage-buildings on this 'stage' (Dörpfeld, *Wochensch.* 1890, S. 1536), and in most of the extant dramas only one door in the background is required. Beneath the stage-buildings at Eretria (cf. plan in *Jour. of Arch.* cited above) is a finely constructed vaulted passage 1.98 m. wide and 2.95 m. high. For the entrance of the public and the chorus the parodoi afforded ample room. The orchestra is some 3.50 m. below the level of the earth behind the stage-buildings. That this tunnel was constructed and so well constructed is sufficient proof of its importance. This passage, then, as well as the tunnel leading into the middle of the orchestra, could hardly have had any other use than as a means of ingress and egress for the actors while the performance was going on in front of the 'stage,' not upon it.

The plans of the theatres of Epidauros, Athens, Oropos, Eretria, Megalopolis (cf. *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, vol. XI, p. 295) and Termessos (cf. *Spratt, Travels in Lycia*, p. 240) may serve as examples to prove that the rows of seats in a Greek theatre extend over an arc of more than 180°. The seats in the ends of the rows are so arranged that the spectators occupying them have an excellent view of what is going on in the orchestra; but in order to see the top of the 'stage' they must turn themselves half about. The Greek theatre was not hemmed in by the walls of a building. It would have been easy, therefore, to turn these seats so that their occupants could have had an unobstructed view of the 'stage,'

had this view been desirable. If the 'stage' had been used, the distance between the public and the actors would have been so great that the chorus would necessarily be the important element in the performance. The great force of the last two arguments is only fully appreciated when one is in the theatre itself.

The height of this 'stage,' the lack of means of communication with the orchestra, its slight depth, its distance from the cavea, the doors leading out on the level of the orchestra, the arrangement of the seats themselves, all unite to prove that this structure could never have been used as a stage.

Against this emphatic testimony we have the word of Vitruvius (V 7) that this *proskēnion* was the stage of the Greek theatre. The general correctness of his architectural views proves that the architectural authorities from which he drew his information concerning that earlier theatre which he calls Greek were excellent. Misled by the existence of a stage in the later theatre and by the term *λογεῖον* as applied to this, and finding no other structure on the plans of the earlier theatres before him to which the name could be applied, he made the mistake of naming the *proskēnion* *λογεῖον*. The only theatre he would naturally have an opportunity to inspect was that theatre which he called 'Roman.'

Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, p. 158) maintains that the *proskēnion* was used as a stage, but conjectures that the stage of the V century was only 6 or 7 ft. high. For this assumption he has, of course, no proof. The latest plays of Euripides and Aristophanes required the same freedom of communication between actors and chorus as did the earliest plays of Aeschylus. There could have been no increase in height in the V century. The historical fact is that with the disappearance of the chorus in the IV and III centuries there developed what we know as the Roman stage. If a 12-ft. stage had ever been used I agree with Todt (*Philol. Suppl.* VI, S. 131) that it existed when the 'Prometheus' was first given. But the stage-theory requires two sudden springs. We have absolutely nothing between the table of Thespis and the 'stage' at Epidauros, and there is no intermediate step between this 'stage' 4 m. high and the 5-ft. Roman stage. No satisfactory explanation is offered for these changes, which are contrary both to reason and to the historical development of the classic drama and the classic theatre from the age of Aeschylus to late Roman times.

The inscription on the epistyle of this structure at Oropos puts beyond doubt that its proper name is *προσκήμιον*. This agrees with the article in Photios, *τρίτος ἀριστεροῦ*: ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς στοῖχος ὁ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ἦν, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς πρὸς τῷ προσκηνίῳ. The words of Glycera in Alciphron, Ep. II 4, are perhaps not to be reckoned here, since the latest editor, Hercher, following a hint of Meineke, reads ἐν τοῖς παρασκηνίοις instead of ἐν τοῖς προσκηνίοις. But in the Life of Nero, 26 "interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum ex parte proscaenii superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat," Suetonius refers to the top of the *proskēnion*, i. e. 'stage,' in the words "ex parte proscaenii superiore." CIG. 4283, from the theatre of Patara, distinguishes sharply between the *προσκήμιον* and the later *λογεῖον*. Athen. XIII, p. 587 B, Photios and Suidas v. *Νάννιον*, Suidas v. *προσκήμιον*, Cramer, *Anecd. Paris*, I 19, Duris in Athen. XII, p. 536 A (Müller, B.-A., S. 117, 168), have reference either to the painted decoration in front of the *προσκήμιον* or to that temporary structure which existed before the stone *προσκήμιον* was built.¹

On the plan of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos in Athens (Baumeister, Fig. 1824) the front of the *λογεῖον* and the row of columns which formed the background before which the play was presented are both indicated. This row of columns is 1.84 m. from the wall behind them.² That is, they formed the *προσκήμιον* in this Roman theatre, of the same form, position and purpose as the *προσκήμιον* which stood on BB in the neighboring theatre of Dionysos. The *προσκήμιον* remained the same throughout the history of the classic theatre; in the later, the 'Roman' theatre, a stage, a *λογεῖον* was placed before it.

The word *σκηνή* refers in general to the 'stage'-building, and in no classic writer does it mean 'stage' (cf. Reisch in *Zeitsch. für österreich. Gymnasien*, 1887, S. 270 ff.). Therefore the *ὑποσκήμιον* is not the room 'under the stage' or even under the *προσκήμιον*. Pollux (IV 124), in *ὑποσκήμιον* κίονι καὶ ἀγαλματίοις κεκόσμητο, by *ὑποσκήμιον* plainly refers to the wall which the inscription from Oropos calls the *προσκήμιον*. As often happens elsewhere in Pollux, a mistake has been made in the term used. For in IV 124 he explains by τὰ ὑπὸ σκηνῇ the things that have plainly taken place

¹ Synes. Aeg. III 8, p. 1286 εἰς τοῦτο κυνοφθαλμίζοιτο διὰ τοῦ προσκηνίου refers to the entire stage-buildings.

² Tuckermann, *Das Od. des Her. Att.*, S. 1. T. is in error when he assumes that other columns were placed above these (Dörpfeld).

'behind the scenes.' *ὑπὸ σκηνήν* has this same meaning in Pollux, IV 130 *ὑπὸ τῇ σκηνῇ ὀπισθεν*; Philost. Vit. Apollon. VI 11, p. 244 Ol. *τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν*; Plutarch, Phocion, c. V *Φωκίωνα . . . περιπατεῖν ὑπὸ σκηνῇν*; Arat. XV *νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνὴν ἑωρακώς*. With this meaning Athenaios agrees in XIV, p. 631 *Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Φλιάσιος . . . αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὑποσκήνῳ, τί τοῦτ'*; *εἶπεν*. Therefore Sommerbrodt (Scaenica, S. 140) is correct when he interprets *ὑποσκήνια*, in Pollux, IV 123, as the rooms in the stage buildings, in the *σκηνή*.

The references to the cyclic chorus in Dem. Mid. 17, to the Ithyphalloi in Harpok., p. 100, 22, Athenaios, XIV, p. 622 B, and to the Phallophoroi in Athen. XIV, p. 622 D, may be dismissed with the remark that it is absurd to suppose that they entered the theatre from the skene upon a lofty stage and then clambered down a flight of steps to reach their position in the orchestra.

The attempt to prove the existence of a stage in the Athenian theatre of the V century from vase-paintings found in Southern Italy has decidedly not succeeded.¹ With perhaps a single exception (Baumeister, Fig. 904), there is no trace of the Old Comedy on these vases. No one of the scenes has been referred to the Middle or the New Comedy. The oldest of these vases goes no farther back than the beginning of the III century. They are found only in Magna Grecia. It is incredible that the vase-painters of this period in Southern Italy should go back more than a hundred years and select from Athens the scenes which they placed on their wares, particularly when no Athenian vase-painter had set them an example. In no other field has the Italian vase-painter shown such originality. A chorus is never found in these representations. The stage is of the rudest description. The steps leading therefrom are too narrow and too steep to meet the requirements of the Attic dramas of the V century. We are warranted, then, in saying that these scenes were taken from the 'Phlyakenpossen,' as these were presented in Southern Italy at the time when these vases were manufactured.

Outline of the Development of the Greek Theatre.

Beyond question, from the earliest times an altar stood in the orchestra.² The previous discussion has clearly shown that this altar was sometimes called *θυμέλη*. Around this altar, before the

¹ Cf. Arnold in Baumeister, S. 1750 ff.; Heydermann, Jahrbuch d. k. Arch. Ins. 1886, S. 260 ff., and A. Müller, Philol. Suppl., Bd. VI, S. 59 f.

² Cf. Suidas v. *καθάρσιον*; Pollux, IV 103; Plut. Cimon, c. 9; Philost. Vit. Apoll. IV 22.

beginning of the real drama, the assembled crowd danced.¹ The first actor stood on a table near this altar.² This table is also called *θυμέλη* in Et. Mag., p. 458, 30; Orion, Theb. Etym., p. 72; Cyrill. Lex. in Alberti on Hesych. I, p. 1743. In speaking of the theatre of later times also, the actors are also brought into close connection with the *θυμέλη*, as in Diodor. 4, 5; Plutarch, Demetr. 12, and De Pyth. Or. 22; Alciphron, II 3, 16; Suidas v. *θυμελικοί*; Plut. Sulla 36; Athen. XV, p. 699 A; CIG. 3493. Since the musicians and the *ραβδοῦχοι* (cf. Suidas and Schol. Aristoph., Peace 733) had their place on this *θυμέλη*, it could hardly have been that portion of the altar on which the offering was laid. In Olympia that portion of the altar on which the priests stood was called the *πρόθυσις* (Dörpfeld). In the theatre, as we have seen, it was called *θυμέλη*, and an inscription from Delos in Bull. Cor. Hell. 1890, p. 396 *ἡ θυμέλη τοῦ βωμοῦ*, clearly shows that the thymele was a portion of the altar.

So long as there was only one actor this *θυμέλη*, this step, as it were, beside the *βωμός* on which the actor stood, was sufficient. As soon as the real drama began, with the introduction of the second actor under Aischylos, more room was needed. Then the cothurnos (Cramer, Anecd. Paris, I 19) was invented, and the elevation of the *θυμέλη* became movable under the feet of the actors. The earlier explanation that the cothurnos was added to give the actors the appearance of demigods and heroes is not sufficient. There were not only Prometheus, Agamemnon, Theseus and Oidipos, but also heralds, nurses, slaves and ordinary mortals like Xerxes to be represented. There is no aesthetical reason why these latter should be made to appear unusually large. In the fact that the actors were brought down from the *θυμέλη* and placed on the same level with the choreutae is found the reason why they were made taller and given a more splendid costume. By these means they were at all times readily distinguishable from the members of the chorus among whom they were moving. When one has seen 24 men march into the great orchestra at Epidauros, and go through with such manœuvres as we may imagine the chorus performed, the objection that, even with the aid of the cothurnos and the tragic robe, the actors would have been hidden by the chorus ceases to exist. It is as if the performers in a modern opera-house took their position in the

¹ Cf. Euanthius, De trag. et com., p. 4; Max., Tyr. dissert. 37.

² Pollux, IV 123, calls this a 'meat-table,' *ἐλεός*.

parquette—on the floor of the house—while the audience sits in the boxes and galleries around three sides of them. The chorus of 24 even was very small in proportion to the great area of the orchestra, and even if grouped in a body, the choreutae could have concealed the actors only from a very small portion of the audience at one time. It is nowhere in the classic drama distinctly said that the chorus was instructed not to stand between the actors and the audience, but neither does the modern opera contain directions for the crowds which fill the stage to remain in the background, nor does the text of the Passion Play of Oberammergau command the chorus to fall back on either side, that the action may be seen.

As soon as an actor had more than one part to play, a booth, a *σκηνή*, was necessary for the change of costume. When the second actor was added, and the action was given a fixed place, it was most natural that the actors should occupy the ground immediately before this temple or palace. So, while the entire orchestra might be necessary for the dances of the 'stasima,' that half of the orchestra next to the *proskenion* became naturally the 'scene' of the play. For the lively movement of the comedy the cothurnos was unsuited, and so was discarded; but it is from the comedy that we obtain some of the strongest proof that actors and chorus were together in the orchestra.

A *λογεῖον* for the actors we find mentioned for the first time after the chorus has practically disappeared from the drama. When the chorus was no longer present, then the entire orchestra circle was no longer necessary. The actors remained as always, in the part in front of the *proskenion*; the other half could be used for other purposes. To separate the spectators in the front row of seats from the combats of gladiators and of wild beasts, in Athens the balustrade of marble slabs was erected. In Pergamon and Assos the lower rows of seats were removed till the lowest row remaining was on a level with the *λογεῖον* which had been constructed. In the theatres of Aizani, Telmessos, Patara and Aspendos the lower rows of seats are also on a level with the stage. If in these theatres the space between the *λογεῖα* and the front rows of seats were filled up to the level of the *λογεῖα*, there would then exist the orchestra circle of the V-century theatre.¹ For in the Greek theatres like those of Epidauros, Athens,

¹ Cf. Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*, S. 213.

Peiraieus, Oropos, Delos, Myra, Patara, Telmessos, Side, Eretria, Megalopolis, the circle of the orchestra does not quite reach the front of the *proskenion*.

In the Roman theatre, according to Vitruvius, the senators sat in this portion of the old Greek orchestra that was no longer needed for the proper presentation of the plays. If the senators had been seated on the same level with the actors, those in the back rows could not have seen over the heads of those in front. Here arose another reason for lowering that half of the elder orchestra in which the senators were sitting, or of elevating the stage on which the actors performed.

When, for any reason, this difference in level existed, the public could no longer enter through the old *parodoi* and pass from thence to their seats. So in the Roman theatres we find two passages into the theatre, the old *parodoi* now leading to the stage alone, and new vaulted passages under the wings of the rows of seats into the new lower level of the orchestra. Since in the Roman theatre the old *parodoi* were used only by the actors, it required but one step more in the development to roof these passages over and thus bring the walls of the stage-buildings into connection with the walls of the 'theatron,' thus rendering a roof over the *cavea* a possibility.

No author of the V or IV century mentions a 'stage' in the theatre. For the word *ὀκρίβαντα* in Plato's *Conviv.*, p. 194 B, refers only to an elevation in the circular odeion where the rehearsals were held.¹ When a portion of the orchestra was lowered to form an arena, this was called *κόνιστρα*. The portion remaining for the actors also received a new name, *λογεῖον*, because it was now distinctively the 'speaking place' of the actors. Since in the Roman theatre the boundary line between the *κόνιστρα* and the *λογεῖον* passed through the centre of the old orchestra, the *thymele*, the altar could be placed at will in either.

This late Greek, the so-called Roman theatre, is described correctly by Suidas and Et. Mag. v. *σκηνή*. *Σκηνή* ἐστὶν ἡ μέση θύρα τοῦ θεάτρου, παρασκήνια δὲ τὰ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς μέσης θύρας (χαλκᾷ καγκέλλα). καὶ ἵνα σαφέστερον εἴπω [*σκηνή* ἢ] μετὰ τὴν σκηνὴν εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἢ ὀρχήστρα. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἑδαφος ἐφ' οὗ θεατρίζουσιν οἱ μῖμοι. εἴτα μετὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν βωμός ἦν τοῦ Διονύσου, τετράγωνον οἰκοδόμημα κενὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου, ὃ καλεῖται θυμέλη παρὰ τὸ θύειν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυμέλην ἡ κόνιστρα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κάτω ἑδαφος τοῦ θεάτρου.

¹ Cf. Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, p. 255 f.; Dörp., *Wochensch.* 1890, S. 470.

First is the *σκηνή* described as the middle door, which was the most prominent object in the wall facing the spectators. On either side of this were the *παρασκήνια*. Next is mentioned the *λογεῖον*, rightfully called by its old name, *ὀρχήστρα*. The altar of Dionysos, the *θυμέλη*, is named, as we should naturally expect, between the *λογεῖον* and that latest addition to the theatre, the *κόνιστρα*. In the introduction to the 'Clouds' the scholiast also says: *ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ τῷ νῦν λεγομένῳ λογεῖῳ*. Isidor, Orig. 18, 43, explains: *pulpitus, qui pulpitus orchestra vocabatur*, and 44: *orchestra autem pulpitus erat*.

The references of the scholiasts and the grammarians to the *λογεῖον* are easily explained. Through ignorance of the true arrangement of the classic theatre, they have sometimes ascribed to it the *λογεῖον* which belonged only to later times, a natural mistake when we consider the centuries which separated some of these writers from the theatre which they sought to describe. Again, they may have been misled by the fact that when a classic play was revived it was necessarily adapted to the 'Roman' theatre.

PART II.

CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT DRAMAS.

An examination of the works of the four great dramatists in strictly chronological order would seem at first glance calculated to show most clearly the steady course of development in the drama, and consequently to illustrate most fully the corresponding changes which were made in 'stage'-buildings and equipments. But Sophokles was ever more akin to Aischylos than to Euripides, and Aristophanes frequently holds the youngest of the tragedians up to ridicule, both in his text and in the setting of his plays. It has seemed best, therefore, to follow an order which, while in a general way chronological, shall place together the poets who are most closely related to each other.¹

I. THE PLAYS OF AISCHYLOS BEFORE THE TIME OF SOPHOKLES.²

Supplices.

Two points in this play are especially remarkable. The action does not take place before a palace or temple, or in any well-known locality; there is no hint of a 'scenae frons.' We find mention of an altar (222) near the coast of Argos (714 ff., 734, 744, 836) and not far from the city (955 ff.). Again, the dialogue is almost entirely between an actor and the chorus. On only two occasions does an actor converse with a fellow-actor (480 ff. and

¹ The chronological order of the plays followed is that found in Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*. The references are for the 'Persians' to Teuffel-Wecklein's edition; for the other plays, to the Teubner texts.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff.; Schönborn, *Die Skene der Hellenen*, S. 284 ff.; A. Müller, *B.-A.* 125 f.; Todt, *Noch einmal die Bühne des Aeschylos*, in *Philologus*, XLVIII, S. 505 ff.; Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*.

911 ff.). The chorus is the important element of the play. In the choreutae the interest centres, and where they are, there is the place of the action.

The first words of Danaos (τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί, 177) assure us that he has come as a guide to his daughters. As such his place was with the chorus when they came marching in chanting their anapaests, at the opening of the play. The entrance of the king (234) and of the herald (836) are most carefully motivated. Even when Danaos returns from the city (600) the chorus greets him as he enters; and we feel that it is only because of the exciting nature of the scene that there is a lack of something of the kind when the king reappears (911). Since, then, there is nothing in the play to indicate that such is the case, it is hardly credible that Danaos should have entered during the recital of vs. 1-175. The play assumes his presence with his children from the beginning. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα βᾶτε he bids them (191). If he were on the stage he must bid them 'come up' to him. For if a 'stage' existed, the altar, as we shall presently see, was upon it. But βᾶτε is exactly the expression to be used if the father stood with his children and bade them seek refuge at an altar on the same level with themselves. There is in fact no hint of any change of level as they repeatedly pass to and from this altar. The king says ἐπιστρέφον (508). They exhort each other βαῖνε φυγὰ πρὸς ἀλκάν (832). It is not possible that they could have climbed to a stage in the four lines which are spoken before the herald joins them (836). What an absurd spectacle these choreutae would have presented scrambling up a flight of steps to reach their altar of refuge! Finally, when the king invites the chorus to go to the city, he uses στείχεται' (955). Schönborn infers from πάγον (189) that a hill is represented on the scene. But this is not simply a hill, but πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. It is neither more nor less than the altar of the gods, at which the maidens are to sit as suppliants. This is plain from κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός in the following line. πάγον τῶν θεῶν for altar (βωμός) need not surprise us, when we remember that altars at Olympia and elsewhere frequently became hillocks by the gradual accretions from the remains of sacrifices.

At v. 208 the chorus says to Danaos θέλομ' ἂν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν. Father and daughters are both at the altar. Here the choreutae remain till v. 508, when they leave their suppliant position at the request of the king. On the approach of the herald (832) they again seek refuge at the altar, from which they

depart to the city (955). Since the herald seeks to drag them from its protection (866-910), and is only prevented from doing so by the timely arrival of the king (911), it follows that this altar was where the actors were accustomed to be—on the 'stage,' if there were a stage. But the chorus is at the altar during 454 verses, considerably more than one-third of the entire play, and during almost the entire time when the *action* is going on.

Besides altars, chorus and actors there were present the attributes and images of the gods, τρίαῖναν (218), Ἑρμῆς δδ' (220), βρέττα (463), τριαῖνας (755), βρέττος (885). These were numerous and of considerable size, for the choreutae threaten to hang themselves upon them (465). Some portion of the multitude seen by Danaos (180 ff.) is also present, as the king (στείχεται' ἄν, ἄνδρες, 500) commands his attendants to guide and guard Danaos. Again, φίλαις ὁπάσοι (954) and ὁπαδοί (1023) refer to others than the choreutae. It would be difficult indeed to accommodate on any stage possible in a Greek theatre these persons and objects actually mentioned as present.

V. 713 ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ is also taken as an indication of an elevated 'stage.' That the chorus is at this time in the orchestra is evident. For they left the altar at 508 and do not return to it till the entrance of the herald. They are surely not far from it, because the ode 630-709 is a prayer at this κοινοβωμία for all blessings for the Argives. Danaos is with his children in the orchestra, since μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι (748) becomes nonsense if the father is not near enough to render assistance in case the choreutae are attacked. In ἱκεταδόκου σκοπῆς we surely have a reference to the same altar mentioned in πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. If this altar were on an elevated stage to which the herald was about to enter (836), and on which he was bound by the rules of dramatic art to remain, why does the chorus run to meet the danger?

The setting of the play becomes simple when we once have clearly in mind the earliest orchestra on the site of the theatre at Athens (cf. Part I). There were no stage-buildings. The altar in the middle of the orchestra would naturally be the altar belonging to the temple, since a second altar for sacrificial purposes would be superfluous. The Suppliants carries us back more nearly than any other extant play to the time when the drama consisted of odes sung by the choreutae as they danced around the altar. In the light of what we have found in the play itself

we are warranted in saying that to this circular dancing-place came the procession of Danaos and his daughters. To the large altar (*κοινοβωμία*, cf. 189 f., 222) in its centre, decorated with emblems and images of the gods, they go, deposit their branches, and sit as suppliants. Hither come the king and his attendants and find them. He sends Danaos to the city, then follows him. Danaos returns, from the altar sees the enemy approaching, and hastens for aid. The herald comes and seeks to drag the maidens to the ships, but is prevented by the king. Finally Danaos with his guard of honor (980 ff.) leads his children from the orchestra (1014 ff.) away into the hospitable city. Thus regarded the play possesses a dignity and simplicity which are entirely wanting on the supposition of a stage of any kind. Viewed in this light the Suppliants shows a natural step in the development from the choral song.

Persae.

The tomb of Dareios is the central point of much of the action. It is a structure of some size, for the shade of the king is invited (659) *ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθον*. *ἔγγυς ἐστῶτες τάφου* (686) proves that he literally obeys this call. The words *στέγος ἀρχαίου* (141) seem also to apply to this family sepulchre (cf. v. 657 *ἀρχαίης βαλλήν*, Soph. *Electra* 1165, and Lycophr. Alex. 1097), since a council chamber such as Wilamowitz (Herm. XXI) has assumed would not be erected on the scene for this one brief reference.

The palace was at a distance. The chorus see Atossa approaching at 150, but it is five lines later before they begin to address her. Appearing from a palace in the background, she would have been immediately before them as soon as she became visible. She announces (159) *ταῦτα λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω*. These words are superfluous if the palace was before the eyes of the choreutae. The queen mentions (229) the offerings she will make after she has returned to the royal dwelling. She says she will return to the sepulchre with a sacrificial cake (524), but adds (529 f.) *ἴανπερ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μύλη, | παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους*. This escort duty could only be performed by the chorus when the palace lay at a distance. The mother's fear that her son will arrive while she is absent, and her non-appearance in the long scene which follows the appearance of Xerxes, are both inexplicable on the theory that the palace is before the eyes of the spectators. In all these passages there is the idea of space to be traversed and time to be consumed in passing to and from the dwelling.

The queen announces (607 f.) *τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων | χλιδῆς τε τῆς παροῖθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν | ἔσσειλα*. *ὄχημα* means *vehiculum*, chariot,¹ as in Iph. in Aulis 610 f. *ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων ἔξω πορεύεθ'*. The fact that Atossa takes pains to say that she has come without her chariot and her former pomp distinctly implies that at her first appearance she did come with such royal insignia. Therefore it was equally impossible that she should come from a palace in the background, or enter on a stage at all. Lines 1016 and 1024 show how poverty-stricken was the dress of Xerxes on his arrival on the scene of action, and how few were in his retinue. Still the poet could not introduce the king unattended, nor represent him as having come from Greece on foot. Therefore it is a fair inference that *σκηναῖς τροχλάτοιςιν* (1000 f.) imply a chariot in which the king appears in the orchestra.

But there are yet other proofs that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. For the first forty lines after his appearance (249) the messenger converses with the chorus. Had he appeared on a stage of which Atossa and her attendants were the occupants, he would on his entrance have stood face to face with them, and it would have been most unnatural for him to turn from the queen before him to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from him. His action is natural only on the supposition that he enters through the *parodos*, since then the chorus in the middle of the orchestra would first meet his eyes. Again Atossa returns from the palace with the sacrificial offerings (598) and the chorus join in the libations to the dead which follow. It need hardly be said that all are by the tomb during this ceremony. In fact Dareios addresses his wife as *τάφου πέλας* (684) and the chorus as *ἔγγυς . . . τάφου* (686). He actually addresses the chorus first on his appearance (681). Then the commands of Xerxes to the chorus, *πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι* (1038) and *ἐς δόμους κίε* (1067), do not bid them to 'come up' to him and enter the palace by clambering over a stage, but to escort him to the royal house, as they had been commanded by the queen-mother (530). The length of the *kommos* (1036-76), during which all are leaving the scene together, is another indication that they are passing out through the *parodos*, and not by the shorter way, 'over a stage.'

¹ Teuffel-Wecklein, Perser, S. 50, attempt to explain *ὄχημα* as 'Thronsessel,' but this is simply an effort to show how the queen entered from a palace in the background.

It is true that no underground passage has been as yet found in the theatre at Athens, but the existence of such passages in Eretria, Sikyon and elsewhere produces not a demonstration but a conviction that the ghost of Dareios appeared by means of some such passage, that he appeared in the orchestra, not on a 'stage.'

The Persians is certainly a step higher in development than the Suppliants. The tomb of Dareios is of more importance than the *κοινοβωμία*, and the interest centres in the actors, not in the chorus. But the idea of a scenic background is not yet present.

Septem.

The scene is on the Kadmeia in Thebes (*ἀκρόπολιν*, 240), and perhaps in an agora; for Eteokles, at the opening of the play, is addressing an assembly of the citizens. *Κάδμου πολῖται* (1), *ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες* (31), and the exhortation for young and old alike (10 ff.) to succor the city, unite to prove that numbers were present in this assembly. Being mutes, their place is with the actors, but their numbers are apparently too great for any possible stage. The bodies of the two brothers are brought in at 861. From 960 on Antigone and Ismene are present with them. The chorus in antistrophic strains (874 ff.) lament the fate of the dead. *σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσι* (911) shows that the body lies immediately before the semichorus. At 1068 *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν | αἶδε προπομποί* says the one semichorus as it, with Antigone, follows the body of Polynikes through one parodos. *ἡμεῖς ἅμα τῷδ'* respond the others as they, together with Ismene, accompany the funeral procession of Eteokles. Here not only are the numbers too great for the supposed 'stage,' but there is the distinct statement that all are together on one level, which could only be that of the orchestra.

Many images are mentioned, Ares (105, 135), Zeus (116), Apollo (145, 159), Artemis (149 f.), Hera (152). The chorus not only appeal to them in these passages, but prostrate themselves before them (95 *βρέτη*). They rush in haste to them (211 *πρόδρομος ἦλθον*). The choreutae are clinging to these figures (258), and only come forth from among them (265 *ἐκτὸς οὐσ' ἀγαλμάτων*) in response to repeated commands of the king. But neither here nor elsewhere in the play does anything suggest an ascent to a stage or descent therefrom. Yet Eteokles offers prayer to these same tutelary deities (69 f.). In these devotions he could not neglect the images, nor can we conceive that he prayed from the

top of a 'stage' to the images down in the orchestra. On the other hand, there is no room for these *agalmata* on a stage. These difficulties disappear when we grant that all—actors, chorus and mutes—are moving and performing their several functions on the acropolis of Thebes, from which the chorus (81, 89, 115, 117)—not because they have climbed the little elevation of a 'stage,' but because of the height of the citadel itself—watch the action going on without the walls.

Prometheus.

The final catastrophe in which actor and chorus are swallowed up together could only take place if the cliff to which the Titan was chained was of considerable height and extent. Otherwise there would not be room beneath for the reception of so great a number of persons. In the Prometheus, then, we have the first example of extensive construction to aid in the presentation of a play, the first of the *προσκήνεια* which Aischylos is said to have invented. For the tomb and altars used in the previous plays could hardly be called by that name. As has been shown in Part I of this paper, the stage-buildings of the V century were entirely of wood. The mistake which has been made in the past has been in the assumption that the theatre-carpenter first built a lofty narrow platform and then proceeded to erect his scenery upon this. But such a construction for the Prometheus is an absurdity. On the narrow platform of the so-called stage there would be no room for the representation of the craggy mountain-side to which the Titan is bound, much less for the immense trap-door (?) through which chorus and actor finally disappear. It was not on the (later) *proskēnion*, but instead of it, that the scenery was constructed. It is quite possible that the sudden and complete disappearance of all the occupants of the scene finds its explanation in the peculiar position of the ancient orchestra at Athens. As explained in Part I, the earth outside of this orchestra to the south was five or six feet at least lower than the level of the orchestra. Under these circumstances such a disappearance could be easily managed.

For more than 150 verses after they appear (127–282) the chorus remain in their winged chariot. This chariot, with its burden of 12 choreutae, could not have moved into view through the air. The weight was too great. Vs. 143 ff. show that they are near the Titan when they enter. The idea that at 282 they

leave their chariot and descend from a stage into an orchestra, having no connection with the real scene of the action, finds no support whatever in the text. Next to the hero himself, the chorus is the important element of the play. Their conversation with him is, as it were, only interrupted by the visits of Okeanos and Io. They remain constant to him and finally suffer with him. Where they are is always considered a part of the scene of action. The words of Hermes (1058 ff.) show that they are then near Prometheus, and the whole play demands that there be no artificial barrier like a stage between them and the sufferer.

Certain common characteristics of these first four plays we shall find neither in the later dramas of Aeschylus nor in those of the other dramatists.

1. Although a σκηνή, a building of some sort to which the actors could retire for the changes of masks and of costumes, was necessarily present, it is only in the Prometheus that a special structure to represent a scene is demanded.

2. So far as can be learned from the plays themselves, the side entrances, the parodoi, alone were used.

3. The chorus has an importance either greater than or equal to that of the actors.

As Mr. Verrall says (Class. Rev. 1890, p. 225): "The drama of Aeschylus is really a choric drama. If we except the Prometheus, a work *sui generis* and not really compassable by any stage high or low, all Aeschylus's remaining plays are of the choric kind. Speakers, singers and mutes are all indissolubly connected and equally essential to the action. So that to subtract the singers and separate them in any way from the whole body would be as improbable and contradictory to the nature of the act as to put a barrier between the actors of a dialogue."

II. THE AESCHYLOS-SOPHOKLES PERIOD.

A. Aeschylus.—Agamemnon.

The scene is before the palace of the Atreidai: στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν, 3; Ἀτρειδῶν στέγος, 310; μέλαθρα βασιλείων, 518; ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους, 851; ἐς δῶμ', 911; ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα, 957; εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, 1035; πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν, 1088; ἐν δόμοισι, 1102; δώμασιν, 1191; δόμοις, 1217; δόμοι, 1309; πρὸς δῶμα, 1349; δωμάτων, 1673. These passages are cited not to prove what all the world knows, but to call attention to the marked contrast between the scenic accessories used in the

Agamemnon and those employed—if we base our judgment on the text—in the four earlier plays.

Commentators may be in doubt as to whether Pelasgos rides into the orchestra in the Suppliants, but there is no doubt that Agamemnon and Cassandra come on the scene in the Agamemnon (782) in a chariot. Not only was this act of itself impossible on a Greek 'stage,' but, granting that the chariot itself could appear on this narrow platform, no space would remain for the spreading of the carpet (909), for the maid-servants (908), for Klytaimnestra, and for the train of menials who must have followed the king. The conqueror of Troy would not arrive before his palace unattended. In spite of the repeated invitations of Klytaimnestra (1039 ff.) and exhortations of the chorus (1054), the prophetess remains seated in the chariot till v. 1290 (λοῦσα κ' ἄγῳ). Then she ranges free through the orchestra (1298). She approaches the door (1306). She essays again and again to enter, while the chorus gather about her in wondering pity (1321). Finally she rushes within to meet her doom (1330). Nothing in the play indicates that she must ascend to a 'stage.' During 500 lines (782-1290) the chariot and the captive Cassandra seated within is the middle point of the action. To this chariot must Klytaimnestra come, both when she welcomes her husband and when she invites the Trojan maiden to enter the palace. If stairs were present, the mutes and the actors, encumbered by their tragic costume, must have repeatedly passed over them. Then it would have been easy for the chorus, unencumbered by such dress, to have ascended them in the death scene (1342 ff.), in order to enter the palace, had it not been that the fate of Agamemnon was foreordained, and that the exigencies of the play required them to remain without, that Klytaimnestra might address them in the presence of the spectators.

In 1615 f. the chorus threatens that Aigisthos shall be stoned. Later (1650) he calls upon his companions to be ready, and the chorus draw their swords and rush forward (1651 εἴα δὲ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπίζετω). These are not the words of men who must climb a narrow flight of steps to come at their enemy. Aigisthos retires to the house at the close of the play, but there is no indication again that he must ascend in order to do this. A stage was then not only not necessary, but would have been a decided hindrance to the entire action of the play, while the greater portion of the play must in any event have been represented in the orchestra.

Choephoroe.

Two objects are mentioned as being before the eyes of the spectators—the tomb of Agamemnon and the royal palace. The latter is first mentioned v. 13, and the chorus inform us that they are come forth from it (22 f.) as an escort to the drink-offering. The tomb being the central point of the action for the next 400 lines, the palace is not again referred to till 553. From this line to the end of the play the action is either in or immediately before this building (cf. 561, 652, 669, 712, 732, 849, 878, 885). The testimony concerning the sepulchre is equally emphatic. Orestes is at the tomb v. 4; Elektra pours libations on it, vs. 129 and 149. The lock of hair is found upon it (168). It is also referred to as present in 106, 355 f., 501, 511. Finally, after Klytaimnestra has conducted Orestes and Pylades within the house, 722 f. *ὦ πότνια χθών καὶ πότνι' ἀκτὴ | χόματος, ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ ναυάρχῳ | σώματι κείσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ*, in connection with *δόμοισι* (13) and *ἐκ δόμων* (22) proves conclusively that there has been no change of scene, but that sepulchre and palace have both been present throughout the play.

But dwelling and tomb cannot both exist at the same time in the background directly in front of the *σκηνή*. The sepulchre could not be located close by the door of the palace, and Orestes (16 f.) sees the procession coming, yet has time to withdraw before the maidens perceive him. Furthermore, the narrow stage afforded no room for an object so large as the passages already cited prove this sepulchre to have been. The tomb was then in the orchestra.

This tallies exactly with what we learn of the position of actors and chorus. The choreutae enter with Elektra (16 f.), they are her associates (86), sharers in the ceremonies (100). She prays for them as well as for herself (112). They move about her chanting the dirge as she pours the libation (152 f.) Therefore, for the first 584 vs.—more than half the play—actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. The chorus decide not to enter the palace in the death scene (870 ff.), and they have the same excellent reason here as in the Agamemnon. The play must go on before the eyes of the spectators. Later Orestes says, as he shows the murderous net in which his father had been entangled: *ἐκείνατ' αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν | στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξαθ'* (983 f.). He is plainly talking to the choreutae, and if they are not actually holding the garment, they are at least near the group. *κύκλῳ* certainly implies that they are not separated from the actors by a

'stage.' In the Choephoroe, then, actors and chorus are on the same level throughout, and a stage is impossible.

It is worth noting that in (878) *γυναικείους πύλας* we have probably the first allusion to a second door in the proskenion. The servant has just come out of one door as he goes to open that leading to the women's apartments.

Eumenides.

In the opening scene the proskenion represents the temple of Apollo at Delphoi, and the orchestra appears as the open court before it. The priestess entering offers prayer to *Γαῖα* and *Θέμις* (2), *Τιτανίς*—*Φοῖβη* (6, 7). Certainly goddesses who earlier were held in highest honor here would possess at least altars within the sacred precincts. At these the priestess does homage, and they could hardly have been crowded together on a narrow 'stage' close in front of the temple.

The chorus have just ended their ode (142–177) in the orchestra when the god gives his command (179) *ἔξω, Κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων*. These words, then, refer to the sacred precinct—temple and court, i. e. orchestra—as a whole.

That, as the schol. in loc. informs us, the sleeping Furies, Apollo, Hermes and Orestes, are all brought into view on the *ekkyklema* (64) is beyond belief. No door in Greek or Roman theatre has ever been found capable of giving passage to a platform of such size. The words of Apollo (68), *ὑπνῷ πεσοῦσαι κτλ.*, are unnecessary if the sleepers were before the eyes of the spectators. It is accordingly not till 140 that, finally aroused by the reproaches of Klytaimnestra, they come rushing forth. But the first strophe begins with 143. There is no time to descend a flight of steps between 140 and 143, and surely the choreutae are not descending stairs as they sing this ode.

It is of no great weight, but it is nevertheless natural to expect that the pursued Orestes and the pursuing Furies should leave the theatre by the same exit, the left parodos.

If there had been a stage, the Furies, when they reënter (244), searching for their victim (245 f.), would naturally look for Orestes, an actor, upon it; but where they find him clinging to the image, there the trial is conducted, and there all the participants in this magnificent scene have their places. Accusers, accused, defenders and judges can hardly be separated—a portion on a lofty platform and the rest deep down in the orchestra. That the altar and image of the goddess, with the numerous company of actors,

muters and chorus, could find no sufficient room on the 'stage' is self-evident. Whether Athena appears (404) moving through the air is of no importance so far as the stage-question is concerned, but, after judgment has been rendered, the goddess declares that she herself will head the procession which is to lead the Furies to their new abode (1003 f.). She invites the chorus to follow (1006), and bids the Areopagites accompany them. Attendants bear the torches (1005) and chant the closing ode (1032 ff.) as all move from the theatre together in splendid procession—affording splendid proof that the entire scene has been given on the broad level of the orchestra.

B. *Sophokles.—Aias.*

Since in the V century the proskenion was a temporary structure, alterable to meet the requirements of each play, it is reasonable to suppose that the hut of Aias was made with some attempt to portray a real structure of this kind. It could not occupy the entire space (e. g. 24 m. at Epidauros) between the paraskenia; nor could it, from lack of room, be built forward on the 'stage.' Then, too, the invitation to the chorus to enter the tent (329 εἰσελθόντες) is not an invitation to ascend to a stage. Nor can we assume, with Müller (B.-A., S. 127), that they do not enter because of the difficulty of climbing the steps. The scholiast (in 130) gives the correct explanation: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀποπον τὸν χορὸν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀναβοᾷ ἐνδοθεν ὁ Αἴας ἵνα μείνῃ ἐπὶ χώρας ὁ χορὸς. Here σκηνήν means simply the 'scene' of the action. Tekmessa opens the hut (344, 346), saying that the chorus can now see the hero (346), which statement Aias repeats (364). But the hero is lying on the floor of the hut (427). From the orchestra it would be impossible for the chorus to see him over the edge of a stage more than five feet high. Again, the choreutae must be near enough to make the request of Aias (361), that they slay him, appear reasonable.

Aias is an actor, therefore his place is on the 'stage,' if one existed. If the semichoruses are not entirely lacking in sense they will look for him there when they enter in the 'search scene.' Though they are on the scene 25 vs. before the body is found, Tekmessa is the one to discover it. The length of the search implies that considerable space was examined. This space existed only in the orchestra. A glance would have sufficed for the examination of the so-called 'stage.' πᾶ κείναι (911 f.) asks the

chorus; οὗτοι θεατός is the reply, showing that the body was visible to them, as it could hardly have been if on a stage, while they were in the orchestra below.

Teuker bids the choreutae (1182) protect the child of Aias, and in the closing scene he bids some to hollow out a grave (1403 f.), others to put the tripod on the fire (1405). Let one troop bring forth the arms (1407 f.) of the hero. Finally, let every one (1413 f.) who says he is a friend of Aias hurry and go toiling for him. No one has a better right to be included in these commands than the chorus. Since all have been together in the orchestra, so all depart in solemn march through the parodos.

Antigone.

The scene is before the palace of Kreon (386, 526, 1181, 1248, 1293). Apparently but one entrance to this is used (1, 99, 162, 526, 578, 626 (?), 804, 1182, 1243, 1276, 1292, 1346). One entrance on the right is necessary (99, 987, 1090, 1353), and one on the left¹ (99, 222, 331, 444, 765, 943, 1114, 1261).

Vs. 160 ff. inform us that the chorus is assembled in its capacity of council to the king, and that Kreon addresses them as such. Naturally, the king joins his councillors, and is not perched on a 'stage' high above them. The chorus is also frequently addressed and brought intimately into the action of the play by Antigone (940), by Teiresias 988. The prophet addresses Kreon and the chorus as members of one body, of which Kreon is the one who replies. The messenger (cf. Schol. in 1155) and Eurydike (1183) direct their conversation to the choreutae. This method of treating the chorus is natural only on the supposition that actors and chorus are together on one level in the open court before the palace of the king.

Electra.

The palace of the Pelopidai is again in the background (10, 40, 69, 324, 661, 802, 818, 929, 1106); but the tomb of Agamemnon is not visible (51 ff., 404 ff., 871 ff., 893). An altar to Apollo is placed before the dwelling (634 f., 1376 f.). Ἀγορὰ Δῦκεος (7) and Ἦρας ναός (8), particularly the latter, could not have been actually on the scene, for the proskenion represented the palace. They might have been represented on the paraskenia, however, and possibly we have here the first clear indication of that σκηνογραφία the invention of which Aristotle (Poet., c. 4) ascribes to Sophokles.

¹ Right and left from the standpoint of the spectator.

The pedagogue, entering v. 659, though Klytaimnestra has just finished speaking, first addresses the chorus. So Orestes (1098) salutes them, ὦ γυναῖκες, and seems unconscious of the presence of Elektra, as one apart from the rest of the number, till the chorus call his attention to the fact. Had these two actors come in on a stage whose only occupant in each case was another actor, it would have been a peculiar thing for them to turn from this actor to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from them. An examination of the plan of the theatre of Dionysos in Part I will show that when an actor entered the orchestra through the parodos, he would first see, and therefore naturally first address, the choreutae near the centre of the orchestra, rather than the actors nearer the proskenion.

From 120 to 324 Elektra and the chorus are engaged in intimate conversation (cf. 130, 229). There is no more reason for separating them than for keeping apart any two actors under similar circumstances. From 804-870 chorus and actor are again alone, and Elektra is lying by the door of the palace. 827 El. εἴ τί, αἰαῖ. | Cho. ὦ παῖ, τί δακρύεις; | El. φεῦ. | Ch. μηδὲν μέγ' αὔσης. | El. ἀπολείς. Ch. πῶς; | El. εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς Ἀΐδαν ἐλπὶς ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένως μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάσει. It is surely but reasonable to say that the choreutae are near the one whom they are seeking to comfort. There is no word of their ascending to reach her, but in her recumbent position on a stage she would not even be visible to her friends in the orchestra.

Oedipus Rex.

The royal palace of Thebes is in the background (632, 927, 1294, etc.), before which are altars (2, 16, 919). It would not, indeed, have been impossible to arrange these altars and the crowd of suppliants¹ sitting at them as Oidipous enters, v. 1, on the so-called Greek stage; but, in that event, there could be but little room for any one or anything else there. The priest is an actor, the other suppliants are mutes, therefore they are on the same level as the other actors. All prostrate themselves before the king (40 f.), and the priest assumes that all are with himself (147 *ιστάμεθα*). Yet the crowd is at a little distance from the two actors, and have a clearer view of the side entrances. For the suppliants inform the priest that Kreon is approaching (78 ff.). The new-

¹ 16 ff. οἱ μὲν οὐδέπω μακρὰν | πτέσθαι σθενόντες, οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς | ἱερῆς, ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἡθέων | λεκτοί.

comer is still at a little distance, for two speeches are delivered before he is within speaking distance (85). The scene is entirely clear only on the assumption that the suppliants at the altars nearer the middle of the orchestra command a better view of the actor entering through the parodos than do the actors who are nearer the proskenion. It may be urged that the actor could be imagined as visible while still standing in the paraskenia, but this would not at all explain those scenes where the chorus in the orchestra first see and announce the coming of an actor through the side entrances. The chorus in such a case could not be expected even to imagine seeing an actor about to enter on a 'stage.'

Nothing in the play requires the chorus to ascend to a stage, yet are they on the same level with the actors. They first see Teiresias (297 f.), and they prostrate themselves before the king (326 f.). For all the MSS except L assign these words to the chorus, and Oidipous would hardly kneel to the prophet, nor could he say πάντες σε προσκυνούμεν οἷδ' ἱκτῆριοι. Furthermore, Iokasta brings the chorus intimately into the action (648); the messenger addresses the chorus, not Iokasta (924); Oidipous questions the choreutae whether any of them know the herdsman (1047, 1115 f.). He appeals to the choreutae to lead him away (1339), to deign to touch him (1413). These passages imply unobstructed intercourse between actors and chorus.

Had the newly-blinded king come forth on the so-called stage (1307), one must surely have trembled lest he walk over its edge and fall into the orchestra.

Trachiniae.

The scene of the action is before the palace of Herakles (203, 329, 531, 900).

The chorus first appear to bid Deianeira hope (138). Later she comes forth in secret (531 ff.) to explain to them her fears and her plans, and to show to them the garment she has prepared (580). They are undoubtedly in a position to see this in its hollow chest (692). Although the herald is already without the palace (594 ff.), Deianeira bids the choreutae keep her secret, and adds a moral reflection for their edification. The eternal fitness of things would certainly seem to be violated if she were confidentially shouting her woes from a 'stage' to the chorus at some distance from her, below in the orchestra, with Lichas, from whom

these things are to be kept hidden, standing a few feet from her, at the door of the palace. This scene is also clear when we understand that the wife of Herakles is with her friends, the choreutae, in the orchestra, while the herald is at a little distance when he comes from the palace door. Directly to the chorus does the hero's wife come again (663), when she discovers the evil she has wrought.

Herakles is brought in where the chorus can see him lying on his couch (964 ff.). This they could do with difficulty were he on a stage. His bearers, attendants, and the friends who would naturally accompany him, the procession with which the play closes and of which the chorus probably form a part,—all tend to prove that the action is going on on the broad level of the orchestra.

Philoktetes.

Neoptolemos, a mute (45), the chorus (92 ἡμᾶς τοσοῦσδε, 126 δοκῆτε), and Odysseus enter together. Following the directions of Odysseus (15), Neoptolemos begins the search for the cave on the hillside (20 f.). He finds it above them (29), mounts to it and describes its contents (33 ff.). He invites the chorus to draw near (145, cf. Schol. in loc.) and see the cave. Surprised at the miserable quarters, they question if it really is the hero's dwelling. Neoptolemos' reply (159) assures them that it is, and calls their attention to his previous description.

The impossibility of setting this play on the so-called 'stage' has been shown in Part I. For this is a hillside, on which actors and chorus can move easily without danger of slipping and dropping over the edge of a 12-foot stage. The proskenion is then neither that found in the theatre at Epidauros, nor that which represented the palace in the Agamemnon, but is one representing a rocky hillside sloping down to the level of the orchestra. On the slope was the cavern, to which led a path, and a spring was near (21).

Philoktetes addresses Neoptolemos and the chorus together (219), and only learns which is the leader from Neoptolemos' reply (232). V. 581 refers to the chorus as of one party with the actors, an idea which is strengthened by the ἐάσωμεν of 825. In 861 the chorus can observe the sick man closely. Later on (887) Neoptolemos proposes that the choreutae bear the lame man to the ship, and Odysseus threatens that they shall bear him away by force (983). In his reply to this last Philoktetes alludes to the chorus as near him

(984). He threatens to throw himself down from the rocks (1002), but he is seized and held by members of the chorus, all of whom are present for the express purpose of rendering the necessary assistance. Χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀλλήλεις (1469, cf. ἀλλήλεις, Trach. 513) makes us to understand clearly that chorus and actors go off the scene through the parodos together at the end of the play.

Oedipus Coloneus.

The spot is full of the bay, the olive and the vine, and nightingales are singing within the grove (17 ff.). Real trees were an impossibility, therefore the painted scenery must have been elaborate. The precinct of the Eumenides is a grove (98, 126), into which Antigone guides her father (114). When the chorus see him (138) they caution him not to remain (156) in the silent grove. A long distance separates them from him (163). They invite him to come forth; when he advances (178) they urge him to come farther (178), and then direct Antigone to lead him still farther (180). She encourages Oidipous to follow with confidence. The advancing pictured in all these passages could not refer to crossing a stage 8 ft. wide. When the Colonean goes (80) to summon the chorus of his fellow-citizens, we look for the latter to enter by the same passage through which he departed. They do this, for they declare that they will search for the intruder through the sacred temenos (136). In other words, in searching for an actor they search where actors are accustomed to be. There is no indication of a barrier between the orchestra proper and the grove, excepting that wall of the precinct on which the blind king sits (192). Reasoning from analogy with other passages in which chariots and animals are mentioned, we may assume that Ismene rides into the orchestra on her Aetnaean steed (312); but nothing shows that she ascends to come to her father.

Theseus appoints the chorus as a guard to Oidipous (638, cf. Schol. in loc.). He appeals to them (724). They are near (803, cf. Schol.), so that Kreon cannot seize him against their will (815, cf. Schol.). When Kreon gives command to drag Antigone away, the choreutae first threaten (835); then, though he forbids them to touch him (856), they seize and hold him (857). From 638 to 857 actors and chorus have plainly been together. To these come Theseus (885) with followers (893). It is certainly not too much to say that, as in Philoktetes, the scenery could not have been placed on a stage, and, further, that no Greek 'stage' could have contained the numbers present in the scene just

described, particularly in the lively action in which they were engaged.

In the plays of this second period there is a clearness of statement, with reference to place of the action and to the details of the scenery, which was lacking in the first four dramas of Aischylos. In seven of the plays just considered a building is in the background, a palace in the Agamemnon, the Choephoroe, Electra, Antigone, the Trachiniae, and Oedipus Rex, and a temple in the Eumenides. In the Ajax we find a tent by the sea-shore, in the Philoctetes a cavern on a hillside, in the Oedipus Coloneus the sacred precinct in the grove. The proskenion, however, is still a unity; that is, it represents but one building. From the Electra and Oedipus Coloneus we are justified in inferring that great advances had been made in σκηνογραφία, and that this was employed even where there are no clear allusions to it in the text. The teaching of the dramas is that from the Suppliants of Aischylos to the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophokles there has been much the same progress in the art of representation as in the art of composition. Yet in every play of this second period, as in those of the first, there exists the strong probability that actors and chorus make use of the same parodoi for entrances and exits, and in several plays the text shows that the existence of a stage was an impossibility.

III. THE PERIOD OF EURIPIDES AND ARISTOPHANES.

A. Euripides.—Rhesus.

The chorus, in its character of night-watch, approaches the tent of Hektor (1 ff.) in the background to awaken him. His reply (11 ff.) affords excellent evidence that the choreutae are close to him, not below in an orchestra. Odysseus and Diomedes enter (564) and find the tent of the Trojan chief empty. They depart to slay Rhesos. On their return (667) they are pursued by the chorus. 675 ff. βάλε | θείνε θένε· τίς ὁδ' ἀνὴρ; | λείψετε, τοῦτον αὐδῶ . . . | δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς | τοῦσδε ἔχω, 685 παῖε πᾶς, 688 τί δὴ τὸ σῶμα; Od. Φοῖβος, make clear as the light that in the lively pursuit all must have been in the orchestra together, and that the intruders are seized and held till the watchword is given. This scene simply requires more emphatically, what the entire play also demands, that there be no barrier between actors and chorus. All alike are soldiers, the only difference being that the actors are commanders. No

good reason can be urged why the choreutae, in going to or coming from the camps of the Greeks and the Trojans, should make use of different roads, different exits, from those employed by Dolon, Odysseus, Diomedes, Rhesos, Aineias, Paris and Hektor under like circumstances.

Alkestis.

The proskenion represents the house of Admetos (1, 87, 477, 911, 941, etc.). As the chorus enter their attention is directed to the palace. They do not see before the doors water for bathing the dead; nor are there locks of shorn hair ἐπὶ προθύροις (98 ff.). Such minute observation as is implied in this last statement was only possible when the chorus stood near and on practically the same level with the palace door. The chorus is the first to see and announce that Alkestis is really dead (392). Such observation as this scene also requires would have been impossible on the 'stage' theory.

The funeral procession comes forth from the dwelling (605 ff.). Admetos addresses the choreutae, and bids them, while the servants are bearing the body, to salute the dead in the customary manner. No word is spoken to show that the chorus ascends or that the rest of the procession descends, yet there can hardly be a doubt that all leave by the same parodos (741). By the same road Herakles follows them (860); by the same entrance the funeral procession returns (861), and by the same way we certainly expect the son of Jove and Alkmene to bring back the rescued Alkestis (1007). Again, three entrances—the palace door and the two parodoi—meet all the requirements of the play.

Medea.

The chorus has so little to do with the action of the play that there are but few indications of the relative position of actors and choreutae. παρέλθω δόμους (1275) shows the possibility of the chorus entering the house, but again the exigencies of the play (as in Agamemnon) prevent such action. The first words of Jason (1293) addressing the choreutae are surely more natural if he enters through the parodos and joins them standing in front of the palace, than they would be if he came in on a 'stage' above them, and turned to address them, instead of giving his attention to the palace.

Before the doors can be broken in (1314) Medeia is visible on the chariot drawn by dragons (cf. Schol. in 1321), which has been

given her by the Sun. Such a chariot, large enough to contain the sorceress and the bodies of her sons (1376 f.), requires room. On such a *διορυγία* as was possible if the 'stage' theory be accepted,¹ such an equipage could not be placed. Actors on the narrow 'stage' would run decided risk of stepping overboard into the orchestra in their vain endeavor to get far enough from the building to be able to look up at objects on the roof of the dwelling. The scene becomes perfectly intelligible when we consider that the *proskēnion* represented the palace of Jason, the 'stage' was its roof, on which was room not only for Medea and her chariot, but also for the necessary stage machinery.

Hippolytus.

The statues of Artemis (58 ff., 72 f.) and Aphrodite (101, 116 f., 359, 522) are standing before the palace of Theseus (108, 171, 575, 790, 882 f., 1152) as Hippolytos appears (57), bidding his numerous band of attendants (54 f. πολλοὶ . . . κῶμος) sing to the goddess of the chase. This chorus of attendants (cf. Schol. in 58) enter, remain and depart (108 f.) with their master. For this scene the broad level of the orchestra is far better suited than is the narrow platform of the 'stage.'

Phaidra bids the real chorus of the play, not to ascend to a 'stage,' but (575) ταῖσδ' ἐπιστᾶσαι πύλαις. The choreutae do not obey because they are plainly terrified by the outcry of Phaidra (569 f.), and because the audience must also hear of what is taking place within the house. So they bid her announce to them what the evil may be (577 ff.). They do not respond to the appeals of the nurse (775, 780) that they (776) rush in and save her mistress. The action, from the first appeal of the nurse (775) to the announcement that Phaidra is dead (786), is too rapid to allow the choreutae to enter the dwelling even had they been so inclined. The foreordained has again come to pass, and the announcement has been made to the public in due form (cf. death-scene in Agamemnon).

Hecuba.

When Talthybios enters (483) the chorus have just completed an ode, and therefore are near the middle of the orchestra. He asks where he can find Hekabe. The reply, αὕτη πῆλας σου . . . κείται ξυγκεκλημένη πέποις, proves that, as they point her out, they

¹ Cf. Part I, Müller, B.-A., S. 140 ff., and Haigh, Att. Th., p. 172.

can see her lying, wrapped up in her mantle. Polyxene has just been borne away to the camp. In the agony of parting the mother threw herself down near the exit through which her daughter disappeared. Talthybios enters from the camp. Had he come in on the 'stage' the prostrate form of the fallen queen must have been immediately before him. His question to the chorus would have been then quite uncalled for; he must have seen her before the chorus was visible to him. On the other hand, as he came through the *parodos* he must needs see the chorus first, and his question and their reply are both pertinent.

The choreutae are on the point of entering the hut of Agamemnon (43, 171, 619, 880, 1049) to bear aid to their friends within (1042), when Hekabe comes hastening forth (1044) to escape the furious Polymnestor (1070). There is no talk of descending steps, and no time for such action. Barely have they and the queen fled to one side (1054), when the raving Thracian bursts from the dwelling—upon a narrow stage? That would indeed be difficult to believe.

Cyclops.

The chorus with πρόσπολοι (83) enter (40), driving the flocks and herds of the Kyklops (43 f., 51 f.). Whether these are really animals or are men dressed as such, their erratic motions (41 ff.) show that they must enter the orchestra, from which they pass to the cave in the background (35, 82 f., 383).

Odysseus first sees the servants (96) as he enters, then perceives the satyrs, Silenos and the chorus by the cavern. Had he entered on a 'stage' he would have seen these last first. In the bargaining scene which follows there are present Odysseus, his several companions (85 f.), Silenos, the chorus, and the servants (191), who bring in the lambs bound ready to be borne away. The 'stage' could not well accommodate these numbers. The Kyklops' threat to beat the chorus (210 f.), and their reply (212 f.), prove that they are near him. A 'stage' would be very narrow accommodations for the giant when he comes forth drunk later on (502).

There is no hindrance for the choreutae if they desire to enter the cave, therefore they readily enter into conspiracy with Ulysses (451 ff.). To be sure, they refuse to aid in putting out the Kyklops' eye, not because they cannot easily ascend to a 'stage' (Müller, B.-A., S. 127)—that difficulty has been overcome many times in the course of the play—but because of the cowardly

nature of the satyrs, and because the poet desires to amuse the spectators by their dancing rather than leave the stage empty.¹

The blinded giant (683 ff.) would have found the 'stage' a dangerous place. Odysseus announces that he is far from (689) the Kyklops, and undoubtedly he, his companions and the chorus have all moved out into the orchestra, on the appearance of their enemy, preparatory to departing together through the parodos on their way to the ship. The impossibility of representing the hillside and the cavern on the 'stage' has been discussed in connection with the Philoctetes.

Heraclidae.

Iolaos and a numerous company (10, 64, 91 f., 93, 248, 581) of the younger sons of Herakles sit as suppliants at the altar of Zeus (61, 79, 97 f., 121, 238, 341, etc.), at which the children remain throughout the play (344 ff.). This is the βωμός before the temple (41 f., 479, 643, 646, 657, 695 ff.), of sufficient size to receive this group. Excavations at Olympia and elsewhere have shown that such altars were not placed close before the temples; their use for sacrifices forbade that. The size and probable character of this altar alike tend to prove that it could not have been on a narrow platform of a 'stage.'

When Kopreus is attempting to drag the children away he throws Iolaos violently to the ground (75 f., 128 f.). In response to the cry for help (69 f.) the chorus come in with a rush (73), on the same level with the actors, for their presence compels Kopreus to desist from his attempt. Because they are later with Demophaon, the messenger of the Argive king feels that he is powerless (274 μῆς γὰρ χειρὸς ἀσθενὲς μάχη). Iolaos bids the chorus and the children exchange the pledge of the right hand (307, 308). The choreutae fulfil this duty in their character of representatives of the Athenian people (cf. 69), and the king is separately addressed (320 ff.). This act of pledging is performed by all the chorus (307 f.). Thus scenery and text alike require that the play be acted in the orchestra.

Hercules Furens.

The chorus enter (106), to find the father, wife and children of Herakles as suppliants at an altar (51, 72, 243) before the palace of the hero (107, 330, 523, 622, 1142). The passage 119 ff. is very corrupt, and it is doubtful whether ἀνάντες belongs in the text.

¹Cf. Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*, p. 42.

At best, however, the words referring to ascent are used in the comparison, and refer to the 'yoke-bearing steed' as showing the cause of its weariness. The chorus of old men, each of whom leans on his staff for support (107 ff.), comes feebly in, each man assisting his neighbor (125). They are on the same level and near to the actors, for they are on the point of striking Lykos (254), and declare (262 f.) that while they are alive he cannot carry out his design of slaying the children. The long choral ode (348-441) must have been delivered in the orchestra. There is no indication that they descend for this, nor that they ascend for the following scene. Here Amphytryon is bidding farewell to the chorus (503 ff.), when Herakles enters and finds all together before his house (525 ff.). He beholds his family in funeral garb standing not *near* but *among* the choreutae (ἐχλφ τ' ἐν ἀνδρῶν). The words of the hero (529), that he will approach them, are nonsense if he refers to the few feet between the side and the middle of a 'stage'; they are natural if he is near the parodos, while the others are grouped together in the orchestra, immediately in front of the palace.

At 748 the chorus cry σκοπῶμεν 'let us look into the palace.' The death-cry of Lykos is heard a few moments later, and the choreutae begin their dance in the orchestra. The description of objects within the palace (1029 ff.) shows that they are again where they can see within the ruined dwelling. They flee to avoid the danger, when it is announced that Herakles is coming forth (1081 f.). This danger could exist only because he is coming out into the orchestra. In company with Amphytryon (1109 ff.) they again approach the dwelling. These passages offer strong proof that no stage existed as a barrier between the chorus and the palace, particularly when we remember that the choreutae could not have seen the hero lying chained among the ruins of his dwelling, had the so-called stage been in their way.

Andromache.

The proskenion again represents a palace (41, 495, 817, 1055). The shrine of Thetis, by which Andromache is sitting at the opening of the play, is referred to under different names: 115 ἄγαλμα θεῆς, 117 δάπεδον καὶ ἀνάκτορα, 135 ἀγλαὸν ἔδραν, 161 δῶμα Νηρηΐδος τόδε, | οὐ βωμός οὐδὲ ναός, 253 ἀγνὸν τέμενος ἐναλίας θεοῦ, 380 τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων, 411 βωμόν. This is no ordinary altar, but a precinct, τέμενος, containing a house, δῶμα, ναός, an altar, βωμός, and an image, ἄγαλμα. There is no room for such a structure in the background

—the palace is there—nor on the so-called stage—that is too narrow to afford space for the shrine and for the actors. This structure is then in the orchestra, and in the orchestra is represented the main action of the play which concerns Andromache sitting within this temenos.

The choreutae are on one occasion (817) about to rush in to prevent the suicide of Hermione, but before they can do this she is heard coming forth (822). So they remain without. The text implies the easy possibility of their entering (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127).

Suppliants.

As the play opens, Aithra, with the mothers of 'the seven' (20), is sitting at the altars (33, 64, 93) before the temple of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis (30, 88, 938). Adrastus, surrounded by the sons of 'the seven,' lies at the doors of the same temple (22, 104). 279 ἀμφιπύκνουσα τὸν σὸν γόνυ and 284 f. περὶ σοῖσι γούνασιν prove that Theseus is standing close by the Argive king. But Theseus' direction to the chorus (359 f.) to remove the hallowed garlands from his mother, that he may lead her back to the city, show that Aithra and the suppliants are also on the same level with the actors. In the Heracleidae it has been pointed out that the βασιλεὺς of a temple would not be placed on a 'stage.' The chorus of 15, Aithra, Adrastus, with the seven sons (106, 1124 f., 1224), make a total of 24 persons, arranged in two groups, when Theseus and his attendants enter. It is incredible, again, that so many persons could occupy this 'stage.' No room would remain for the necessary action. When nearly one-third of the play is past, and the chorus is bidden (359) to leave the altar, the word of Theseus is not a command to descend to a level below that occupied by the actors. As a matter of fact, the choreutae are with the actors later on.

Adrastus goes to meet the bodies (772), and commands that they be brought in (811). 815 ff. δὲθ', ὡς περιπυχαῖσι δὴ | χέρας προσ-αμβόσας' ἐμοῖς | ἐν ἀγκῶσι τέκνα θάμναι cries the chorus. ἔχεις, ἔχεις is the reply. The choreutae are in the orchestra, for they have just completed the ode 778 ff. But they here embrace the bodies brought in under the direction of Adrastus. Theseus also comes (837), and stands by the bodies while the heroes are being described (860 ff.). As the dead are borne forth, Adrastus invites the chorus to follow (941). This Theseus forbids (942), but Adrastus promises that they shall receive the bones (948 f.). The chorus remain, that they may be present at the burning of

the body of Kapaneus (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127). To them in the orchestra are brought the ashes of their dead by the Epigoni (1113 ff.), and from the orchestra they march forth in company with Adrastus (1132), at the end.

There is no room on a 'stage' for the pyre of Kapaneus (981, 1010, 1058) and the towering rock (987) from which Evadne leaps (1071), to say nothing of the danger to wooden 'stage' and stage-buildings from the actually burning pile (1012-1017). Dismissing the stage-idea as untenable, the lofty rock occupies a portion of the space where stood the later proskenion, and the burning pile was on the earth in the orchestra. The importance of the chorus and the freedom with which it mingles with the actors remind one strongly of the early plays of Aischylos.

Troades.

Hekabe, lying before the door (37) of the hut (32, 139, 155, 157, 294, 359, 880) in which are confined the captive Trojan women, calls (143 f.) on the chorus within (cf. Schol. in 139) to sing responsively with her. One semichorus comes forth at 153 (cf. 157), the other at 176 (cf. Schol. in loc.). The ode 197-229 is of course sung in the orchestra, but, again, no word shows that the performers descend to reach their accustomed place.

Andromache appears with her son (571, 614, 702, 713, 749, 782, 786), riding on a chariot (569, 572, 626). From 610 ἀγόμεθα λεία σὸν τέκνον and 622 τῶν δ' ὄχων we learn that she remains in the chariot at least till 626. Her chariot can only enter to the orchestra. There is no mention of her leaving this vehicle, much less of her ascending to or descending from a stage. She unquestionably rides forth (779) on the same conveyance on which she entered. All things tend to show that this scene, in which Andromache holds long and intimate conversation with Hekabe, and pours forth all her mother's tenderness in embracing her son (755 ff.), has taken place in the orchestra. Thither come Talthybius and his companions to seize and destroy the child. There Hekabe utters her lament for her grandson (790 ff.). From thence the herald commands the chorus (1266 ff.) to depart to the shore at the sound of the trump, and bids Hekabe follow him (1269 f.). She does not obey, and he directs the servants to lead her forth (1285). Still she does not go, but from 1302 to the end she sings the responsive dirge with the chorus. She kneels (1305 f.) and places her hands on the ground; the choreutae follow her example

(1307 f.). Here also all are moving toward the same shore, from the same level, through the same parodos, and the poet sends all forth in procession at the close of the play.

Iphigenia Taurica.

73. ἐξ αἱμάτων γούν ξάνθ' ἔχει θριγκώματα
 Op. θριγκοῖς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῖς σκυλ' ὄρᾳς ἡρτημένα ;
 Πυ. τῶν καθανόντων γ' ἀκροθίνια ξένων

 113 Πυ. ὄρα δὲ γείσα τριγλύφων ὅποι κενὸν
 δέμας καθεῖναι .

No such minute and realistic description of scenery is found in any of the preceding plays. These lines demonstrate that the temple was carefully represented. The long back wall of a 'stage' was hardly adapted for such a building. The theatre carpenter could, however, in the period of which we are speaking, build the proskenion in whatever form the drama required. Its door would then open out upon the orchestra.

Iphigeneia, coming from the temple (142), joins the chorus, addresses the choreutae as *δμουί* (143), offers her shorn locks, and pours a libation to the shade of her brother (159 ff.), in which the chorus assist by singing a hymn to the dead (179 ff.). As in the other libation scenes in which the chorus take part (e. g. *Persians* 619 ff., *Choeph.* 92 ff.), actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. In 1069 ff. Iphigeneia appeals to the various members of the chorus not to betray her. There is in her words no actual demonstration that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra, but it is improbable that Iphigeneia is talking in this individual, intimate manner to a group of people twelve feet below and at some distance from her.

Ion.

Seven metopes are carefully described (184-218), and therefore the temple-front (79, 219 ff., 510, 1319 f.) must have been represented in a most realistic manner. Hermes says (76): *εἰς δαφνώδη γύαλα βήσομαι*, from which it is fair to infer that painted decorations represented the laurel groves of Delphi. To one who has climbed the steep hillside to the site of the ancient temple of the oracle, the words of Kreousa and the pedagogue as they enter (cf. 724-738 f.) convey an additional idea of the realistic nature of the scene presented to the gaze of the Athenian audience. The

temple (738 ff.), *μαντεῖα*, did lie high, *αἰπεινά*. A winding path (743 *περιφερῇ στίβον*) may well have led up to it. The old man's exhaustion (739 ff.) under such circumstances was to be expected. Here, as in the *Philoktetes* and the *Birds*, any indication of the ascending path was possible only in the orchestra. The conversation of the two actors (724-747) shows that they are slowly but steadily advancing. At 747 Kreousa first sees and addresses the chorus. The time consumed in uttering these 23 verses would be requisite for entering through the parodos and passing to a position near the front of the temple, but not for moving from the side to the centre of a 'stage.'

In the distance traversed this scene resembles 183 ff. The choreutae, loitering and discussing the metopes in the latter scene, consume a still longer time before they are near enough to address Ion (219). They do not enter the temple because they have not performed the necessary sacrifices, and have no motive but idle curiosity (226 ff.); not because there is a stage in the way (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127).

The choreutae are the servants of Kreousa. Arriving with her from Athens, they have come direct to the temple (183, 252 ff.). Mistress and servants enter then by the same path. The choreutae are still at a little distance from the temple when they first call to Ion (219 *σε τοι τὸν παρὰ ναόν*). Kreousa has perchance stopped by one of the altars to offer the necessary sacrifices,¹ for we find no word in the following lines that it is unlawful for her to enter the temple because of failure to do this. The chorus says (237): *παρούσας δ' ἀμφὶ τάσδ' ἐρωτᾷς*. She is still at a little distance, for it is not till 241 that Ion observes that she is weeping. On a stage she would have been within a few feet of him as soon as she was visible at all. The entire scene gains in clearness when we recognize that actor and chorus enter through the parodos.

Kreousa comes hastening in (1249) to her attendants, asking what she shall do to escape the death to which she has just been sentenced. Naturally she comes to them, not to a platform above them. In obedience to their advice (1255 ff.), she goes as a suppliant to the altar (1275, 1280, 1401, 1403). Like the temple *βωμός* in the plays previously discussed, this was in the orchestra. So from the orchestra at the end, in obedience to the commands of Athena, master, mistress and newly-found son, with the servants, the choreutae, move forth together on their way to Athens.

¹ Cf. Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*, p. 23.

Elektra.

Orestes and his companions (394) enter, and perceive Elektra returning from the stream with water (107). They sit down (109 *ἐξώμεσθα*) very near to the peasant's hut (216), which the *proskenion* for this play represents (78, 251, 489, 750, 1233). Elektra sings the long ode 112-166, the chorus joins her (166), and together they sing the verses 167-212. The choreutae are present as the friends (175) of Elektra, and invite her to come with them to receive the proper apparel and join in the festive dance (191 ff.). This scene implies that actors and chorus are together. But the strangers, though they have no reason for concealment (109 ff.), remain unobserved from 112 to 215. Had Elektra entered on the side of a 'stage,' Orestes and his companions would have been directly before her eyes, but a few feet distant. She could not have avoided seeing them during the recital of one hundred verses. She begins her song, however, as she comes in through the *parodos*, is joined by the chorus, and all move gradually toward the cottage, absorbed in their conversation. As a movement of Orestes (217) suddenly attracts the attention of his sister, frightened, she calls to the chorus to hasten back the way they came (218), while she attempts to escape into the house.

At 962 Elektra sees her mother coming from Argos in her chariot. To look from the 'stage' out through the *parodos*, through which the chariot must enter, is an impossibility. The queen enters at 987. Elektra comes forward to meet her, and offers to assist her from the chariot (1006). Beyond a doubt then are the two actors here in the orchestra. Not till 1135 does Klytaimnestra send the chariot forth. Like the old man in *Ion*, the old servant complains of the steepness of the way (489). Here, as in *Ion*, the ascending path leads from the *parodos*.

Helena.

The central point of the action during the first 1200 lines is the tomb of Proteus in front of the royal palace (64, 324, 528, 797, 984, 1165, 1203). On this (984 ff. *τύμβου 'πὶ νότοις*) Menelaos declares that he will slay Helen and himself, so that their blood shall flow down the tomb, and their two bodies shall lie upon it. Although, as he enters (1164), his first words are a salute to the sepulchre of his father, Theoklymenos does not see Menelaos

crouching by this tomb till Helen points out her husband (1203). Then this structure was of considerable size.

When Helen reappears from the palace at 527 she speaks of again coming to the sepulchre, but does not see Menelaos till 544. She has not then reached her former resting-place, for she cries out that she is being kept from the tomb by the stranger (550 f.). This monument would hardly be built against the very front of the palace. This fact, its size, its distance from the palace door, all tend to demonstrate that it was constructed in the orchestra. Then the action was in the orchestra. This agrees with that free intercourse between actors and chorus in 327 ff. and 1624 ff., also with the presence of the band of hunters with their dogs and nets (1169 f.).

It is necessary that the scene be vacant when Menelaos appears (386 ff.). Therefore the chorus accompanies Helen within the palace, reappearing with her at 514. There is no sign of difficulty connected with this action.

Theoklymenos threatens to revenge himself on his sister (1624 ff.). The chorus remonstrates (1627), but he bids them to get out of the way (1628). They respond that they will not release their grasp on his garments (1629). There is no reason why the choreutae should be on a 'stage' just previous to 1624. Between 1624 and 1628 there is no time for the entire chorus, nor for any members of it, to leave their position in the orchestra and ascend a flight of steps to seize the actor. The teaching of the entire text is, then, that no stage existed.

Phoenissae.

The palace in Thebes (99, 193, 277, 1067, 1342, 1636), with the customary altars before it (274, 604, 631), is in the background. The pedagogue, in company with Antigone, appears (87), investigates the road in front of the palace (92), then invites his companion to ascend the steps (100), to reach the point from whence she can see the hostile army. She requires his assistance to mount the difficult ascent (103 f.). The Scholiast to 90 understands *διῆρες ἔσχατον* to refer to a second story. Pollux, IV 129, informs us that the two ascend to the *διοστεγία*. From the text this much is clear, the two actors come forth and ascend to some portion of the decoration. For such an elevation, and the stairs leading to it, there is not room on the narrow stage.

In response to Polyneikes' declaration of his birth and name (288 ff.), the chorus prostrate themselves at his knees (294 f.), a difficult action, to say the least, if he is not with them in the orchestra.

Antigone enters (1484) with the procession which bears the dead bodies of her mother and her two brothers (1491, 1523, 1526 f., 1563, 1627, 1629, 1635, 1665). Kreon is present with the attendants, whom he commands (1660) to seize Antigone. It is natural to suppose that other soldiers besides the bearers enter with the funeral train (1484). The blind Oidipous joins the company at 1539. Antigone embraces the body of her mother (1661), and leads her father that he may touch the bodies in turn (1693, 1699). There is room, then, for unimpeded action. Yet, without mentioning the number of soldiers who escort the funeral train, or the number of attendants with Kreon, there were present the three dead, stretched on their biers, four bearers for each, Oidipous, Antigone, and Kreon—19 necessary persons. It is highly improbable that such numbers, with the altars and other necessary decorations, were crowded together on a 'stage,' when abundant room existed in the orchestra.

Orestes.

As the play opens Elektra is sitting by Orestes, who is sleeping on a couch (35, 44, 88, 185, 311), before the palace of Agamemnon (60, 112, 356, 744, 1119, 1358). She cautions the chorus to move gently (136), to retire from before the couch (142). Again, when they show that they can move lightly and speak softly (147 f.), she bids them approach. They are close by the sleeper (166), for they cry out *ὄρες; ἐν πέπλοις κινεῖ δέμας*. Their cries disturb the sleeper, and Elektra again bids them move away (171). This request, repeated in 187 f., is then obeyed, for the choreutae at 208 f. cannot see whether Orestes is sleeping. The words of the play show clearly enough that the chorus is throughout the scene moving near the actors, but the verbs of motion employed all imply motion to and fro on the same level. Nothing here suggests a stage (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 125).

In 1246 ff. Elektra and the chorus remain outside to guard against surprise. Elektra commands (1251) *στῆθ' αἱ μὲν ὑμῶν τόνδ' ἀμαξίρη τρίβον, | αἱ δ' ἐνθαδ' ἄλλον οἶμον εἰς φρουρὰν δόμων*. The one semichorus replies (1258) that they will guard the east, the other says (1260) that they will watch the west. Since they are guard-

ing against actors, they will be on a 'stage,' if there be a stage. Only two paths are mentioned, and the choreutae are guarding these on either side of the proskenion. But the *ἀμαξίρη τρίβον* can be nothing else than the road by which chariots are accustomed to enter the orchestra. One entrance on either side, and that leading into the orchestra, is exactly what the new theory demands.

The closing scene (1554 ff.) adds its emphatic testimony in favor of the same theory. As Menelaos and his attendants (1562) are about to break in the gates, there appear on the roof of the palace Orestes (1567), Hermione (1575), Pylades (1620), and others (1574). The knife is placed at Hermione's throat and the torches are ready to set fire to the building. The roof of the palace, i. e. the top of the proskenion, alone could afford the necessary room for this exciting scene. Only in the orchestra, in fact, could Menelaos and his companions remove far enough from the front wall of the palace to see the roof easily.

Bacchae.

The text does not make clear the exact location of the tomb of Semele (6, 596 ff.), which must be, however, near the palace (7, 170, 212, 606, 1165, 1368).

In 55 ff. Bacchos addresses the chorus as present, and announces that he has brought them with him from among the barbarians, as his companions. There is no direct statement to this effect, but, as the immediate followers of the god, we expect them to enter on the same level and at the same time with him. Their entrance at another time and place is not suggested.

The cry of the god to light the lamp and burn the house of Pentheus (576) comes from within, for the chorus question from whence it is (579); and Bacchos explains (616 ff.) that, as the flame sprung upon the grave of his mother, the king believed his palace was burning, and labored with his servants to quench the flames. These actions of the king take place within; without the choreutae only see the pillars of the house shake at the presence of the god (591). Consequently there can be no difficulty in ascending a 'stage,' of which Müller (B.-A., S. 127) speaks.

The numbers present at the end—Agave (1167), women of Thebes (1203 ff.), Kadmos and his servants bearing the remains of Pentheus (1216), Bacchos (1330 f.), the guides for Agave (1381)—are too numerous to be readily accommodated on the 'stage.'

Iphigenia Aulidensis.

The old servant of Agamemnon sets out on the road to Argos (163), but is brought back by Menelaos (302). The messenger enters by the same road (414), to announce the coming of Klytāimnestra. The chorus proclaim that she is visible (592), and the testimony that she rides into the orchestra is exceedingly clear. Rejecting the doubtful verses 598–606, in 607 Klytāimnestra thanks the chorus for their kindly greeting. She bids (610 ff.) some take from the chariot and bear within the hut (1, 12, 440, 678, 820, 1098, 1106) the wedding gifts for her child, and asks the choreutae to assist Iphigenia to alight (617). She directs others to stand in front of the horses, that they may not become frightened (619), and still others to take the boy Orestes (621). Iphigeneia runs to meet her father (631 ff.). Who will care to maintain either that she ascends to or that he descends from a 'stage' that they may come together? They enter the tent on the invitation of the king (678). The text teaches that the orchestra is simply the open space in front of the royal quarters, with no impediment to free passage from the one to the other.

Again, Iphigeneia cries that she sees a crowd (1338 ὄχλον) approaching. The mother replies that this is Achilles, and that hero himself (1359) informs us that these followers are on the scene. But the attendants of Agamemnon are also present in numbers (1463 ὁπαδῶν τῶνδε). It is almost needless to remark that the Greek 'stage' afforded no room for action in the presence of numbers.

It is interesting, indeed, to find the testimony of this last drama of Euripides so emphatically supporting the theory that actors and chorus occupied the same level in the classic period of the Greek drama.

B. *Aristophanes*.¹—*Acharnenses*.

The opening scene portrays an assembly on the Pnyx. Dikaiopolis is seated as the Prytanes come crowding in (42), each endeavoring to obtain the best seat. The herald calls to order (43), and asks who desires to speak. Amphitheos responds (46 ff.). His words not being pleasing, he is removed by the

¹The writer acknowledges his special indebtedness to "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," by Prof. John Williams White, in *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, vol. II, p. 159 ff.

policemen (54 f.), and the ambassadors to the great king are announced (61). With them comes Pseudartabas (91) and two eunuchs (117). This worthy company retire to dine in the Prytaneion (123 ff.), but their places are more than filled by the arrival of the envoy to the king of Thrace, with his army of Odomantians (156 στρατός). There must have been some attempt to represent the Pnyx with its Bema and its benches for the Prytanes and spectators. The Prytanes are present in numbers (26, 43), and people occupy the remaining benches (56 τὴν ἐκκλησιάν) with Dikaiopolis and Amphitheos. When to all these are added the ambassadors and their companions, or the envoy and his Thracians, thirty is surely an understatement of the number present (cf. White, p. 189). These actors and mutes, in the lively scenes when Amphitheos is removed by force (54), and when the Odomantians rob Dikaiopolis of his garlic (163 ff.), could not have been placed on any 'stage.' Therefore some portion of the orchestra represented the Pnyx, and there is no reason why, from the beginning, the proskenion may not have represented the houses of Dikaiopolis (262, 1095 ff.), of Lamachos (1072, 1095 ff.) and of Euripides (395 ff.).

Since the Acharnians are in pursuit of Amphitheos, and he appears on the Pnyx (175), they also appear here. Yet they are before the house of Dikaiopolis and hear him preparing to come forth (238). Our hero, his wife and daughter (245), two slaves (259 f.), and probably the rest of the household whom we find mentioned in 817 ff., 1003 ff., appear. From 262 (πρόβα) to 280 the procession is in motion. This march is impossible on a 'stage,' and a διστεγία above a 'stage' would have been narrow quarters for the wife and daughter.

Since if he does not persuade the chorus he is willing to forfeit his life, Dikaiopolis (365) brings the ἐπίληνον to the orchestra, where the chorus is. Therefore, when the one semichorus seeks to strike him (564 θενέις), but is prevented from doing so by the other, there is no hint that the choreutae must climb steps in order to reach the object of their enmity.

It is hardly conceivable that the Boiotian with his flute-players (863), and his attendants loaded with fish, flesh and fowl (874 ff., 878 ff.), could have entered on any stage. But with reference to the Megarian a word is used which is held to prove that he and his daughters enter the orchestra and ascend to a stage. ἀμβάρε ποττὰν μάδδαν αἶ χ' εὐρηγέ πα (731), he calls to his children. But there

is no reason why the Megarian should enter the orchestra, if this was not the customary place for the actors. In discussing Knights 149 we shall find that ἄμβατε signifies simply 'enter.'

In his drunken elation at his victory in the drinking bout, Dikaiopolis cries out (1225) ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεύς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκόν. Previous to that moment, then, he has not received his prize. At 1230 the chorus calls χάρει λαβὼν τὸν ἄσκόν. Between 1224 and 1230 the wine-skin has been given to him, probably with some joke on the Archon Basileus (White). This could, of course, only take place in the orchestra, from which alone approach to the seat of the Archon was possible. At 1231 Dikaiopolis invites the chorus to follow him singing. This they do 1232 ff., and, as a matter of course, this procession moves from the orchestra through the parodos.

Equites.

The scene is before the dwelling of Demos (110 ff., 234 ff., 725 ff.), that is, the Acropolis, and the proskenion represents the propylaia (1326), not, of course, that of Mnesikles, but the lower gateway to the citadel. Probably here, as in the Lysistrata, where the propylaia is also represented, the ascending road leading to the Acropolis entrance was indicated.

Demosthenes calls to the sausage-seller (147 ff.) ὦ μακάριε | ἀλλαντοπῶλα, δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ φίλτατε, | ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν φανείς. In Dübner three scholia are given to 149: 1. ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει. Ἴνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον ἀναβῇ. 2. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον εἰσιέναι. ὁ καὶ πρόσκειται. λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους. 3. ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε. Suidas s. v. ἀνάβαινε repeats substantially the words of the second scholiast. Three other passages in Aristophanes must be considered with the above: Ach. 731-2, already noted (ἄμβατε); Wasps 1341, where Philokleon calls on the flute-player to enter (ἀνάβαινε); and Eccl. 1151 ff., in which the choreutae say that while the actors are passing off (καταβαίνεις) they will sing in accompaniment (ἐπάσομαι; cf. Eurip. Elect. 864 and Hdt. I 132, White).

It is to be carefully noted—

1. That in the passages cited from the Achar. and Knights no reason is apparent why the actors should be entering by other than the usual way. In the Eccl. the chorus keep their word and sing the accompaniment as the procession passes from the theatre.

2. The words ἀναβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν are used in this way but these four times in all the extant Greek dramas; and each time they refer to an actor or mute who is on the point of entering or departing by a side entrance. In the many instances in which the chorus join the actors or leave them to return to their customary position, these words are never used.

3. The scholiasts do not agree. This illustrates, what needed no additional illustration, that, while there is a very large amount of valuable information in the scholia, while many of their opinions go back to excellent authority, there are scattered through the scholia notes made by men who were not in a position to know the truth, who often betray most lamentable ignorance of the real force and meaning of the passages on which they commented. In short, the unsupported testimony of a scholiast cannot be cited as authority against the plain teaching of the dramas themselves.

The words of the second scholiast have the greatest interest for us. Not only do his explanations of ἀναβαίνειν by εἰσιέναι and καταβαίνειν by ἀπαλλάττεσθαι exactly agree with what the situations in the various plays demand, but his statement that these meanings were derived ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους is most important. The ancient time referred to is that mentioned by Pollux, IV 123: ἐλεὺς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς κτλ. In those days before Thespis ἀναβὰς meant to ascend to the table. In the later, the time of the scholiast, for example, ἀνα-κατα-βαίνειν had come to have merely the technical meaning of entering and retiring.

The third scholiast refers the words of the text to ascending to the θυμέλῃ, but to a θυμέλῃ to which actors were wont to ascend. His idea of the θυμέλῃ agrees with what has already been said of this portion of the βωμός (cf. Part I).

The entrances and exits of the actors in all four of the passages cited were made, then, as usual. The first two scholiasts, however, mention the λογεῖον as a well-known portion of the theatre. This proves neither more nor less than at the time in which they lived the stage was customary in the theatre, and, so far as they knew, the same platform was in use in classic times. We know nothing of the age in which they lived, nor of the authorities they may have used. Therefore we cannot accept their testimony where it conflicts with the evidence of all the extant Greek dramas—including the very one on which they have commented—that a stage never existed in the classic Greek theatre of the time of the great dramatists.¹

¹ Cf. White, "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," p. 164 ff., for the entire discussion of these scholia.

To return to the play. The chorus enters in haste (246). *παῖς* (247), *δίωκε καὶ τάρσσε* (251), they cry. They themselves take an active part in the beating and pursuing (252, 255 ff., 271, 272, 273). There would be no room for this lively scene on a 'stage,' nor is there any indication that the chorus mount to such a platform. In 451 ff. the choreutae again fall upon Kreon and pummel him. The action is again quickly agreed upon and as quickly executed. The actor and chorus are plainly near each other, where the latter can fall upon their enemy and pummel him whenever the desire seizes them. It is because they are on the same level with the actor that the choreutae (490 ff.) easily equip the sausage-seller for the coming fray with the flask of oil and the garlic. At 919 ff. again no barrier exists between them and their champion, as they hand him the ladle with which to 'skim off' the frothy Kleon.

Nubes.

The proskenion represents two separate buildings. The one before which father and son are sleeping at the opening of the play, from which Strepsiades bids the servant bring forth a light and his writing-tablets (18 f.), into which Pheidippides enters (125), stands till the end of the play. For the father leads his son within to entertain him (1212), the old man's creditors call him forth (1221, 1258, 1320), and he rushes out (1320), calling for help because he is being beaten by his son. He summons Xanthias to come forth (1485 f.), bringing with him the implements necessary for the destruction of the Phrontisterion. Before this dwelling of Strepsiades is the statue of equestrian Poseidon (83).

But the building of chief importance in the play is the 'thinking-shop' of Socrates. First mentioned in 92, allusions to it are frequent (132, 183, 195, 506, 804, 1144, etc.). In the final scene Strepsiades and his servant mount to the top of this building (1487, 1502), and dig down through the roof (1488, 1496). Finally they set fire to the house (1490, 1494, 1497, 1504). There is a real climbing from the orchestra to the top of the proskenion, hence the *κλίμακες* mentioned by Pollux are used.

The two houses are quite separate and distinct. There is no room for them on a narrow 'stage.' A distegia two feet wide could not represent the roof in this case; it would not afford space sufficient for the action. It is incredible that fire should be applied to scenery the continuation of which represents the entire

background, including the house of Strepsiades himself. These difficulties all disappear when it is granted that these buildings stood as separate houses on that space later occupied by the stone proskenia, such as those of Oropos and Eretria.

Vespae.

The house of Philokleon is realistically represented (142 ff., 172 ff., 196 ff., 317 ff., 456, 1484 ff.). Bdelykleon, who is sleeping on the roof as the play begins, drives his father back as he attempts to escape through the chimney (142 ff.). But the old man again appears on the roof (202 ff.), and later on (379 f.) tries to lower himself from a window with a cord. This roof could not have been represented by such a *διωρυγία* as Müller and Haigh have imagined.

The scene (170 ff.) in which the ass is led forth with Philokleon clinging beneath his belly, like Odysseus beneath the ram in the Odyssey, just as all scenes in which animals were introduced, could only take place in the orchestra.

The road by which the chorus of dikasts appears (228) is a street of the city (247 ff.). They halt before the house of Philokleon to wait for his appearance. The houses of Athens were certainly not perched on platforms twelve feet above the street. On the supposition of a 'stage,' in the duet following the appearance of the chorus, Philokleon would have been some 20 to 25 feet above his fellow-dikasts (White). When his attempted escape is prevented (394), he calls upon the chorus (402) to keep the promise they made (383) to defend him. The choreutae prepare to obey (420, 423), and rush upon the actors (453 ff.), are beaten back by Xanthus, suffocated with smoke (457), again clubbed (458). Though much is said of rushing forward and driving back, there is not one word of ascending or descending. Not till 727 do the choreutae finally throw aside their stones. From the moment that the choreutae first appear before the dwelling till their weapons are finally laid down, the text clearly assumes that the door of the house opens on the level of the orchestra.

ἀνάβαυε (1342) needs but a word of additional explanation¹ here. Philokleon and the girl enter together, for he has just stolen her and brought her away from his boon companions. They come in (1325) to the same level just occupied by Xanthias, or he would not be so fearful of receiving another drubbing (1324).

¹ Cf. discussion of Knights, 147 ff.

The pursuing Bdelykleon and the συμπόται must appear in the same portion of the theatre (1331). The old man drives his pursuers back, leads the flute-player farther in, where Bdelykleon again finds them (1363). From 1325 to 1363, then, the actors occupy their usual portion of the theatre, and the drunken old man neither climbs to a 'stage' himself, nor drags his flute-girl up to one.

It is now so commonly admitted (cf. White, 168) that καταβαρίον γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς (1514) means *in certamen descendere* that it is hardly necessary to say that no change of level is implied here. The chorus make room for Philokleon and the sons of Karkinos (1516), and sing the accompaniment for the dance which follows. Finally all the occupants of the scene go dancing off through the parodos together (1535 ff.). To complete the proof that the entire play has been presented in the orchestra, we need simply note that the sons of Karkinos, though mutes, plainly appear in the orchestra, and that the violent motions of Philokleon (1484 ff.) could not be safely made by a drunken man on a narrow 'stage.'

Pax.

The change from earth to heaven and from heaven back to earth has given commentators more trouble, perhaps, than has any other passage of our poet. It is natural, however, that the scene before the palace of Zeus should take place on the theologeion, where the gods were accustomed to appear.

The figure of Peace was of great size (schol. Plato, Apol. 19, C.). Hermes says she has been cast into a deep cave (223), below where he and Trygaios are standing (224). The latter has actually ascended through the air (149 ff., 174 f.). The platform on which he has landed is large enough to contain himself, Hermes, the great statue, Theoria, and Opora. The scholiast to 727 informs us that Trygaios and the two maidens descend to the orchestra by means of klimakes. These suggestions all point to the roof of the proskenion as the location of heaven. But we cannot accept the additional statement of the scholiast just quoted, that probably (ἴσως) the chorus has also been in heaven with the actors. It is composed of γεωργῶν Ἀθμονέων (Dramatis Personae, Codex V) and comes in (300) calling to Trygaios to direct them. The dance which follows (322 ff.) would be possible only in the orchestra. Accompanying them is a crowd of Boiotians (466), Argives (475, 494), Spartans (478), Megarians (481, 500), and

Lamachos (473). This numerous company is possible only in the orchestra. The absurdity of the chorus and their companions tugging away in the orchestra, on earth, while Hermes and Trygaios are directing them from the heavens, is not so great as the absurdity of allowing the chorus to climb by some means to that heaven to which Trygaios only attained by the flight of his beetle (cf. Capps, p. 76 f.). In the Peace, then, we have the only instance in the classic drama of the use of the so-called stage by the actors for any considerable time. At the bidding of Hermes (427) some of the choreutae enter (εἰσιόντες) the proskenion, in order to 'remove the stones' and so prepare for the raising of the goddess.

Trygaios appeals (881 f.) to the audience to inform him who is to care for Theoria, then adds that he will himself lead to a position in their midst. He invites the Prytanis to receive her (905), then cries (906) θέας' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρύτανις παρεδέξατο. There can be no doubt that Theoria actually goes to the spectators' seats.

962. Tryg. καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν κριθῶν. Oik. ἰδοῦ.
Tryg. ἔδωκας ἥδη; Oik. νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὥστε γε
τούτων ὅσοι πέρ εἰσι τῶν θεωμένων
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει.

In the Wasps, 58 f., we find

ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος
δούλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις.

In Plutus, 797 ff.

οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδες ἐστὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ
ἰσχάδια καὶ τραγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις
προβαλόντ', ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν.

These passages prove what was the custom in the time of Aristophanes. There was undoubtedly, then, an actual throwing of the barley in Peace, 962 ff. The sacrifice is therefore being offered in the orchestra, from which alone the barley could be thrown among the spectators. Since the actors were in the orchestra, the direction of Trygaios (1305 f.) to the chorus to eat all that remains is easily understood, and the choreutae readily join the procession which escorts the 'happy pair' from the theatre at the end.

Aves.

It is necessary to ascend the bushy hillside (1, 92, 202, 208, 224, 265) in order to reach the mouth of the cavern where the Epops dwells (51 ff., 92, 646 ff.), for Euelpides declares (8) that he has worn off his toe-nails in following the directions of his Jackdaw, and asks the bird if he proposes to lead them down the rocks (20). From 1 to 51 the actors are plainly wandering hither and thither, in obedience to the motions of their feathery guides. This play, like the Prometheus and the Philoktetes, could not be 'set' on a 'stage,' and the actors have evidently entered by the parodos.

175. βλέψον κάτω. Ep. καὶ δὴ βλέπω. Pei. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω.
Ep. βλέπω. Pei. περίαγε τὸν τράχηλον. Ep. νῆ Δία,
ἀπολαύσομαί τι δ', εἰ διαστραφήσομαι.

βλέψον κάτω has been cited as a strong argument that the actors were standing on a stage when these words were uttered (Müller, B.-A., S. 109). But the bushy hillside rising from the level of the orchestra offers practically as good an opportunity for looking down as does Müller's stage. The whole passage, however, is no more to be taken seriously than is the command to the sausage-seller (Knights, 169 ff.) to mount his dresser and take a look at the islands.

The first four birds (227 ff.) come apparently from different directions, for Peisth. says the second one comes from an unlucky quarter (275). The chorus proper appear in the parodos (296), and come slowly in, that their appearance may be duly appreciated. They are evidently at a distance when they ask (310) ποῦ μ' ἄρ' ὅς ἐκάλεσε; and they do not perceive the two strangers till after 326, when Epops calls their attention to the two mortals. In rage they exhort one another to attack the intruders (344). κύκλωσαι (345) implies that the birds can surround their enemies. The two men in terror seize on whatever comes to hand for protection (353, 357, 361), but the birds attack them at close quarters (364 ff.). Not till 480 does the Epops finally persuade them to retire. As in all the other scenes in which steps must be ascended to reach a stage, if a stage exists, there is no word of the text which signifies ascending. It is plain also that no impediment exists to the free intermingling of actors and chorus. The following scene, in which Peisth. explains his plans, gains

vastly when it is understood that the actor is not preaching to the birds from the top of a stage, but is talking to them as a sharer of the same scene with themselves.

The close (1720 ff.) but emphasizes the teaching of the earlier portions of the play. The chorus sings ἀναγε, δέχε, πάραγε, πείρεχε, περιπέεσθε, as Peisth. and his bride appear. The bridegroom, delighted with their hymn, invites them to follow in the marriage-train (1755); and, as he leads the way out dancing (1761) with his bride, the birds follow singing (1763 ff.).

Lysistrata.

Though Lysistrata has sent the older women to seize the citadel, her purpose in calling the assembly of the women is to persuade them to join in the movement. The acropolis is the goal to which they are to move, and immediately after the assembly of women have sworn to follow the leadership of Lysistrata, the shout of those who have taken possession of the citadel is heard from within. On the deep stage of the modern opera-house a street scene in the foreground, with an acropolis in the distance, is easily represented, and the audience readily believes that the cry from behind the scenes comes from the citadel. Stage or no stage, such scenic effects were impossible in the Greek theatre. If the cry is to be understood as coming from the acropolis, then the propylaia must be represented before the eyes of the audience at the moment when the cry is heard. This view is supported by the words of Lysistrata (246): ξυνεμβάλωμεν εἰσιῦσαι τοὺς μοχλοὺς, words which imply entering the gates which are before them. No change of scene takes place then, and ἐξέρχεται (5), and φερέτω κύλικά τις ἐνδοθεν καὶ σταμνίον (199) imply actions which occurred before the acropolis entrance.

That the ascending road to the propylaia could not be represented on a 'stage' has been shown above. That it actually was represented we learn from 287 f.: λοιπόν ἐστι χωρίον | τὸ πρὸς πόλιν, τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδὴν ἔχω. The scholion to τὸ σιμόν (Dübner, 288) explains τὸ σιμόν ὄνομα χωρίου περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσαντες. ἡ ὄνομα χωρίου (καὶ ἐν Βαβυλωνίους "μέσσην ἔρειδε πρὸς τὸ σιμόν"). καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Νίκαις τουτὶ προσαναβῆναι τὸ σιμόν δεῖ. τὸ σιμόν not only means an ascent, then, but was the name of the ascent leading to the acropolis. The absurdity of making the words refer to a flight of steps is apparent. That an inclined plane led from the orchestra to a 'stage' is equally incredible. As in the similar

scenes already discussed, the ground rises from the orchestra level to the front of the proskenion, on which is represented the required scene. This ascent, enough to give the suggestion of reality to the spectators, was not sufficient to prevent the free movement of actors and chorus, nor to serve as a barrier between them.

In 829 ff. Lysistrata, Myrrhina and the day guards appear, move and act on the wall above the entrance (864 and schol., 873 and schol., 883). As often remarked in the foregoing pages, the *διατεγία*, as it was possible above a stage, could not have afforded room for so many people. They appear on the roof of the proskenion.

The four orchestric movements 256-265, 271-280, 286-295, 296-305, were of course executed in the orchestra. At 306 the chorus of men turn to the gates of the acropolis, and, their burdens being deposited on the ground (307, 314), they prepare to set fire to the gates (308, 311, 316). They are here close in front of the gates, on the stage, if stage there be. Therefore the chorus of women, as they enter with water to the rescue of their fellow-women (318, 334), do not reach the men till after the orchestric movement (321-334, 335-349) in the orchestra is ended. Not till 350 do they approach the men, who turn to face them (352). All are on the same level, for the talk is of beating (357, 364), of seizing (359), of striking (360, 366); the women invite the men to come forward (365); the men threaten to scorch the women (376) and to burn their hair (381). The women reply by drenching their opponents with the contents of their water-pots. In this connection the scholiast is cited to prove that the women were on a stage above the men.

Schol. in 321: πέτου, πέτου· νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμιχόριον τὸ λέγον ἐκ γυναικῶν εἰσπυρόμενων ἄνωθεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν καταχέωσιν ἄνωθεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμιχόριον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κάτωθεν ἐπυρόμενων ταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς πολιορκίαν. The imagination of the scholiast has been caught by the drenching scene (381 ff.), and he wishes the effect of height for this. Hence arises his use of ἄνωθεν and κάτωθεν. We have noted above why the chorus of women came in on the level of the orchestra, it remains to give the reasons why they could not have entered on a 'stage.' The chorus of men has dragged their burden up the τὸ σιμόν (286, 287 ff.) and deposited it (306 ff.), so they can no longer be spoken of as coming up from below. Had the chorus of women entered on a 'stage,' their first orchestric movement¹

¹ Cf. Arnoldt, Die Chorparteien bei Euripides, S. 80 ff.

must have been performed there (321-349), and they must have remained till 541 ff. and performed this dance also on the 'stage.' For they are on the same level with the magistrate (386 ff.) Not till 539 do they announce that they leave their pitchers to engage in the dance.

But there are present on this 'stage' the chorus of women, the magistrate (387 ff.), the servants with the levers (424 ff.), Lysistrata (430 ff.), first woman (439 f.), second woman (443 f.), third woman (447 f.), at least four different policemen to contend with the four women (433 ff., 441 f., 445, 449, 451, 455, 462), and a crowd of women from the acropolis (456 ff.). That such numbers, in a scene of the liveliest possible action, could be accommodated on a Greek 'stage' is an utter impossibility, and we must simply infer that the scholiast to 321 had no better authority for his words than his own imagination.¹

Though at the close of the play the text is very corrupt, and though many of the various readings have unquestionably been adapted with the view of making representation on a stage possible, it is yet clear that there is the easiest possible communication between the entrance to the acropolis and the orchestra. Actors and chorus, Spartans, Athenians, and the women all pass in and out with ease. Room for the dances of the Athenians and Spartans (1243, 1246, 1277, 1279, 1317) with their wives existed only in the orchestra, and therefore from the orchestra all departed at the end. In fact, for the Lysistrata the only means to avoid building the 'stage' on a level with the orchestra is to construct an orchestra on a level with the stage, which has been shown (Part I) to be an impossibility.

Thesmophoriazusae.

The assembly scene alone need claim our attention. Mnesikles, dressed as a woman, with his servant Thratta, approaches the Thesmophorion (279). They sacrifice a cake to the goddesses (285). Mnesikles offers prayer at the altar (286), and seeks a good place among the seats where he may sit down and listen to the orators (292 f.). The herald proclaims silence (295 f.). The prayers customary in opening an assembly are offered (296 ff.), in which the chorus join (312 ff.). The *προβούλευμα* is read (372 ff.). The call for speakers is given (379). The speaker is crowned

¹ For the discussion of the entire play see White, p. 202 ff.

before addressing the assembly (380). Two of the women leave their seats and come forward and speak (380, 443), followed by Mnesikles (466). Kleisthenes brings news that an intruder is among them (573), and joins in the search which follows (598 ff.), and, with the assistance of the choreutae, discovers the culprit (628 ff.). The chorus kindles torches and searches through the entire precinct, and has an active part to perform with the herald (312 ff.), as well as with the speakers (434 ff., 459 ff., 520 ff.) and with Kleisthenes (582 ff.). Mnesikles seizes the child from its nurse (689) and flees to the altar (693). In response to the mother's call for assistance the chorus advise to set him on fire. Throughout the entire scene actor is distinguishable from the chorus in no way; all are together, and it need hardly be remarked that the orchestra alone affords the required space. As usual, we have emphatic testimony that actors and chorus must be together in important portions of the play, while no situation is discoverable which renders it either necessary or desirable that they be separated by a stage.

Ecclesiazusae.

The proskenion is most interesting because it must have represented several houses, before which, through the orchestra, ran a street of the city. Praxagora appears from her dwelling in the opening scene, as we learn from 310, when her husband enters under circumstances which render it necessary that he come directly from the house. At 491 also the chorus declares that they are again before the dwelling of their general. Later Praxagora wishes to creep in unobserved (511), but is prevented by the appearance of Blepyros (519). The greeting of the maid to the chorus and neighbors (1114 f.) testifies that the same house is visible to the end. The other dwellings are the house of the neighbor (34), of the first citizen (731 ff.), of the first old woman (977, 990, 997, 1005), of the young woman (962, 976, 989), of the second old woman (1093 ff.). Here are six dwellings mentioned as visible on the scene. It is about as hopeless to try and reconcile them with the three stage-doors of Pollux as it is to attempt to prove that they fronted on a narrow 'stage.'

The assembly scene is again interesting. The chorus enters at 30, the neighbor at 35, three others at 41 f., another 46, still another 49, two more at 51, and many at 52. All take seats (57), the rite of purification is travestied (128), the call for the speaker is given (130), and the orators are crowned (122, 131). Then the

leader instructs them what to do in the real assembly. Not only is the orchestra the only place large enough to contain such an assembly, but there is again absolutely no way of distinguishing actors, mutes and chorus till Praxagora and her companions hasten forth (284), to be followed by the chorus singing the ode 289-310.

The chorus reappear at 477, but stop in the shelter of the parodos wall to remove their disguises (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 135). Praxagoras arrives (503) while they are still busy with this work, and bids her servant (509 f.) put the clothing in order. This command cannot be meant for the choreutae, for they respond to the direction to lay aside their garments (514 ff.). Orders are constantly given without mention of names, as in the Peace 937, 956, 960 f., 1100, 1193, and the Birds 435, 947, 958, 1309 (White, p. 182). Mistress and servant are therefore in the orchestra with the chorus.

Of *καταβαίνεις* (1152) and the procession with which the play closes enough has already been said in connection with the discussion of the Knights 147 ff. It is sufficient here to call attention to the fact that, while the text contains no hint of a 'stage,' actors and chorus are in the orchestra together at the beginning, middle and end of the play.

Ranae.

Because of the extraordinary nature of the scenes pictured on earth, on the Lake of Acheron and in Hades, doubts must ever exist as to how much was actually represented and how much was left to the imagination of the audience. It is impossible to assign a separate portion of the theatre to each of the above-mentioned localities. Therefore, if the scenery did not actually change, it was assumed by the poet the spectators would conceive the location of the action altered as often as he invited them to do so.

Dionysos and Xanthias enter the orchestra, for the latter is mounted on an ass (23, 25, 27, 31 f., 35). The god approaches the house of Herakles and raps (36). The interview with the hero being ended, Charon's boat appears (182, 188, 190, 202), Dionysos embarks (188, 190), and the voyage begins. Knowledge of the later *λογεῖον* has confused the scholiast to 181, so that he is in doubt whether Acheron is on the *λογεῖον* or in the orchestra. Since the god entered the orchestra in the beginning, we could hardly expect him to mount to a 'stage' to find the stream of Acheron. The full proof that he continues in the orchestra is found in the scene just after his landing in the under world. Here Dionysos is thoroughly frightened by the monsters which

Xanthias describes as present. When the Empusa appears, the god, in mortal terror, rushes to his priest, who occupies the seat of honor in the middle of the row of *θρόνοι*, crying (297) *ἱερεῦ διαφύλαξόν μ' ἵν' ὧ σοι ξυμπότης*. Of the actual running Xanthias gives testimony (301 *ἴθ' ἥπερ ἔρχει. δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὧ δέσποτα*). The scholiast declares that he runs and hides behind the chair of his priest, a statement which we readily accept after a comparison with the action of *Theoria* (Peace 906-7) and with that of the slave throwing barley to the spectators (Peace 962).

As is the case so often in Aristophanes, the final scene strongly supports the testimony of the earlier portions of the play, that no stage could have existed. The trial scene is over, and Aischylos is to return to the upper world. The numbers present again demonstrate that this scene has been acted in the orchestra. Pluto gives the command to the chorus (1524 ff.) *φαίετε τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ | λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χ' ἅμα προπέμπετε | τοῖσιν τούτων μέλεσιν | καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδοῦντες*. The chorus obeys, and moves with Dionysos, Aischylos and Xanthias from the theatre.

Plutus.

But two scenes need mention. Chremylos bids Kario (222 f.) go forth and summon *τοὺς ξυγγεώργους*, who form the chorus. The servant obeys, and appears with them in the *parodos* (253 ff.), urging them to hasten to reach the house of his master. They threaten to club him (271 f.) for humbugging them, and after a few lines he declares that he will lead them in the dance (290 f.) which follows. In this last play of our poet, then, we find this testimony, which puts beyond question that actor and chorus are together in the orchestra, and no reason anywhere appears for the existence of a stage. In 1208 ff. we learn that the chorus again goes from the theatre in procession with the actors. Thus, in his last words, Aristophanes puts the seal of his condemnation on any theory which shall separate actors and chorus by any artificial difference of level.

The same striving after realism appears in the scenery of some of the plays of Euripides as in the tattered garments of certain of his characters. Nowhere in the two older tragedies are there such indications of realism as we find in the description of the temple in *Iph. Taur.* 70 ff., and of the metopes in *Ion* 190 ff. Instead of the usual palace, a peasant's hut is shown in the

Electra. The palace shakes in the *Bacchae*, and falls partially in ruins in *Hercules Furens*. In *Andromache* two buildings, the shrine and the palace, are shown. The burning on the roof of the palace in *Orestes* and the burning pyre in the *Suppliants* are entirely new features.

In Aristophanes the innovations are yet more marked. Heaven and earth are represented in the *Peace*; earth, Hades, and the stream of Acheron in the *Frogs*. Not only are two buildings on the scene in the *Clouds*, three in the *Acharnians*, and several in the *Ecclesiazusae*, but such passages as those where the actor will climb from the chimney or through a window in the *Wasps*, and sits at a window in *Eccl.*, and burns down the *Phrontisterion* in the *Clouds*, also show a striking advance in the construction of scenery. The *διστεγία* is used to an extraordinary extent in the *Peace*. All these indications give warrant for believing that in the *Knights* and in the *Lysistrata* the entrance to the acropolis is accurately represented. The testimony of the dramas themselves fully proves that the actors and the chorus can no more be separated from each other by the barrier of a stage in the dramas of Euripides and Aristophanes than in those of Aischylos.

To compare in a word the summaries of the three periods of the classic drama as they have been considered in the foregoing pages, from the earliest play of Aischylos to the latest of Aristophanes, there is apparent a steady development in the scenery used. No fixed *προσκήνιον* could have fulfilled the requirements of the plays of the V century. The scene appropriate for each drama was erected on the floor of the orchestra, in front of the *σκηνή*.

The argument that in the V century no stage existed, that there was but one entrance, the *πάροδος*, on each side of the scene, and that actors, chorus and mutes all performed their respective parts in the orchestra may be summarized as follows:

1. The few instances in the dramas which at first glance favor the idea that a stage existed admit of other and more logical explanations.
2. Although there are very many passages in which the chorus is bidden to advance to the position occupied by actors, or to retire from this, in none of these passages is an expression used which can be construed as a direction to ascend or descend. Had a stage existed, some command to the chorus indicating the difference of level between stage and orchestra must have found its way into the text of some one, at least, of these passages.

3. In situations where there is no call for them to be on a 'stage,' the choreutae make minute observations concerning actors or scenery, observations which they could not make from the orchestra over the edge of the so-called 'stage.' Cf. *Ajax* 346, 364, 911 f.; *Soph. Elect.* 818; *Trach.* 964 ff.; *Philoc.* 861; *Alcest.* 98 ff., 392; *Hec.* 486 f.; *Herc. Fur.* 748, 1029; *Orest.* 208 ff.

Actors, on entering, see and converse with the choreutae first, though actors are present and the situation demands that they be first addressed. Cf. *Persae* 249 ff.; *Oed. Rex* 924; *Soph. Elect.* 660 ff., 1098 ff.; *Philoc.* 219; *Eur. Elect.* 109 ff.; *Cyc.* 96.

4. Where no mention is made of actual personal contact, the relations between actors and chorus are of so intimate a character that no barrier could have existed between them. Cf. *Septem* 677 ff.; *Choeph.* 983; *Trach.* 141 ff., 531 ff., 663 ff.; *Oed. Rex* 327, 648, 1047, 1339, 1413; *Antig.* 160 ff., 940 ff., 988 ff., 1155; *Soph. Elect.* 121 ff., 824 ff.; *Philoc.* 581, 825, 887, 983; *Orest.* 132 ff.; *Eurip. Suppl.* 1114 ff.; *Phoeniss.* 293 ff.; *Ion* 1249 ff.; *Hecuba* 484 ff.; *Iph. Taur.* 1068 f.; *Cyc.* 451 ff.; *Aves* 431 ff.

Here may be mentioned; *a.* The scenes in which it is proposed that the chorus enter the σκηνή, or in which this action actually occurs. Cf. *Agamem.* 1343 ff.; *Ajax* 329; *Andromache* 817 f.; *Hecuba* 1042 f.; *Cyc.* 590 ff., 630 ff.; *Ion* 219; *Hippol.* 782 ff.; *Med.* 1275; *Hel.* 331 ff.

b. The 'libation scenes.' Cf. *Pers.* 597 ff.; *Choeph.* 16 ff., 100 ff.; *Iph. Taur.* 159 ff.; *Pax* 941 ff., 970.

c. Where the chorus stands by actors as a guard. Cf. *Ajax* 1182; *Oed. Col.* 638, 724, 803, 811, 815, 835; *Heracl.* 69 ff., 274; *Eq.* 246.

5. The choreutae actually engage in strife with actors or with each other in the immediate presence of actors. Cf. *Agamem.* 1650 ff.; *Oed. Col.* 857 ff.; *Philoc.* 1003 ff.; *Hel.* 1628 ff.; *Rhes.* 675 ff.; *Achar.* 280 ff., 564 ff.; *Eq.* 247 ff., 451; *Vesp.* 453 ff.; *Av.* 364 ff.

Blows are threatened in *Cyc.* 210 ff.; *Herc. Fur.* 254.

The choreutae hand objects to actors in *Eq.* 490 ff., 919 ff.

They 'pledge right hands' with mutes; *Heracl.* 305 ff.

They stand with actors, bidding them farewell: *Herc. Fur.* 522 ff.

They approach the proskenion in company with actors: *Herc. Fur.* 1109 f.; *Philoc.* 144 ff.

6. In 'search scenes' the chorus is on ground usually occupied by actors, with no suggestion in the text that the choreutae are in

an unusual position. Cf. *Eumen.* 255 ff.; *Ajax* 865 ff.; *Oed. Col.* 116 ff.; *Thes.* 655 ff.

7. Chorus and actors enter together, or by the same entrance, or to the same portion of the scene. Cf. *Aesch. Suppl.* 1; *Prom.* 127; *Choeph.* 20; *Oed. Col.* 116; *Philoc.* 1; *Soph. Elect.* 120; *Ion* 184; *Eur. Elect.* 167; *Bac.* 1; *Troad.* 153 ff.; *Plut.* 252.

8. It may almost be said to be customary for actors and chorus to leave the theatre together by the parodos at the end of the play. Cf. *Aesch. Suppl.* 980 ff.; *Pers.* 1000 ff.; *Sept.* 1068 ff.; *Eum.* 1003 ff.; *Ajax* 1403 ff.; *Philoc.* 1469 ff.; *Trach.* 1264 ff.; *Troad.* 1266 ff.; *Eur. Suppl.* 1232 ff.; *Cyc.* 702 ff.; *Ion* 1619 ff.; *Pax* 1333 ff.; *Vesp.* 1516 ff.; *Achar.* 1231 ff.; *Eccl.* 1165 ff.; *Av.* 1763 ff.; *Lys.* 1289 ff.; *Ran.* 1524 ff.; *Plut.* 1208 ff. Such a procession also occurs in *Alc.* 741, 861.

9. The 'stage' could not contain the actors, mutes and decorations in *Aesch. Suppl.* 218 ff., 463 ff., 755, 885; *Septem* 1 ff., 95 ff., 861 ff.; *Eum.* 480 ff.; *Oed. Rex* 1 ff.; *Phoeniss.* 1484 ff.; *Eur. Suppl.* 1 ff., 815 ff.; *Cyc.* 1 ff.; *Hipp.* 57 ff.; *Iph. Aul.* 1338 ff.; *Achar.* 42 ff.; *Lysis.* 456 ff.; *Thes.* 295 ff.; *Eccl.* 57 ff. Even if a 'stage' had existed, actors and mutes were in the orchestra in *Eum.* 1 ff.; *Pax* 462 ff., 906; *Av.* 1 ff.; *Ran.* 297; *Achar.* 1224 ff.

10. Certain plays could not have been 'set' on the so-called stage because—

a. A hillside was represented in *Prom.*, *Philoc.*, *Eur. Elect.* (489 ff.), *Cyc.*, *Lysist.*, *Aves*.

b. The altar, grove or shrine present required space, apart from the building in the background, only to be found in the orchestra in *Choeph.*, *Oed. Col.*, *Heracl.*, *Andr.*, *Hel.*, *Eur. Suppl.*

c. The burning pyre (*Eurip. Suppl.* 1012 ff.) and the burning house (*Nub.* 1445 ff.) could not have been located on a stage.

d. Scenes with chariots and animals were possible only in the orchestra. Cf. *Aesch. Suppl.* 180 ff. (?); *Pers.* 149 (607), 1001; *Agam.* 782 ff.; *Oed. Col.* 312; *Troad.* 569 ff.; *Eur. Elect.* 987 ff.; *Iph. Aul.* 607 ff.; *Vesp.* 170 ff.; *Ran.* 23 ff.

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